





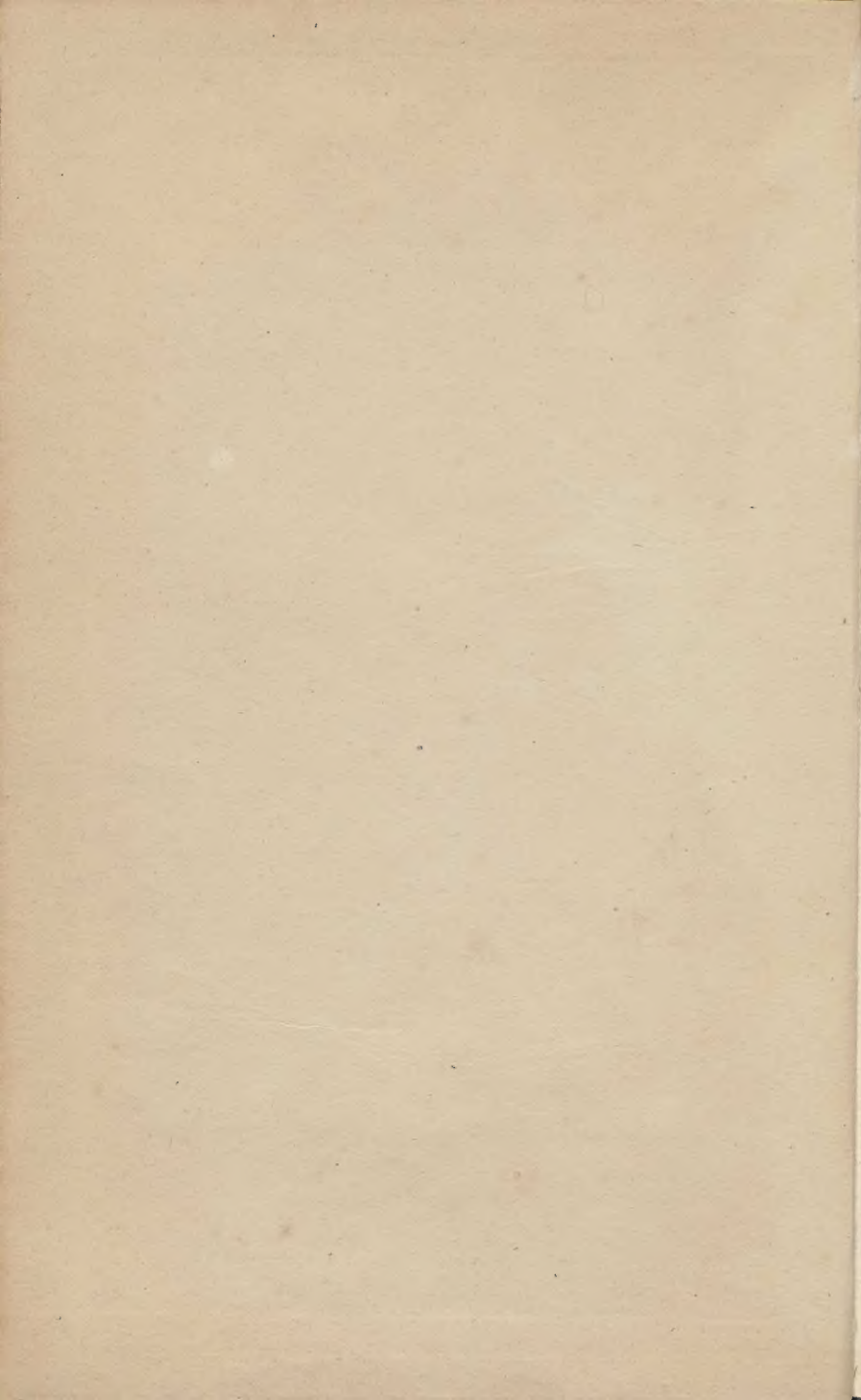
EX LIBRIS



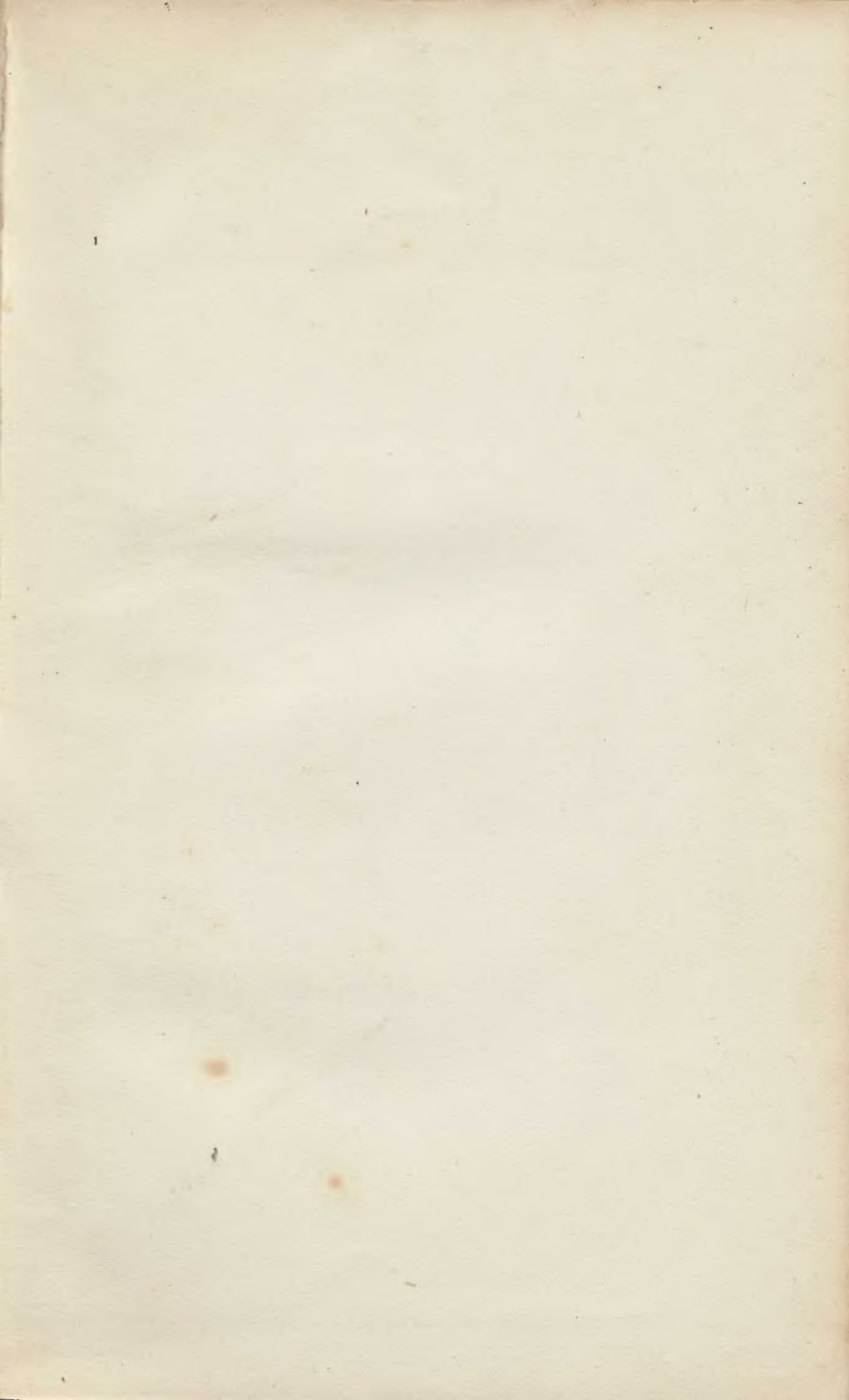














A LAPLANDER OF KOUTOKEINO,  
ON SNOW SHOES.



A  
W I N T E R  
IN  
ICELAND AND LAPLAND.

BY  
THE HON. ARTHUR DILLON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:  
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,  
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1840.

WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.



# CONTENTS

## OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

---

### LAPLAND.

#### CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Hamburg—Kiel—Copenhagen . . . . .	1

#### CHAPTER II.

Helsingborg—Swedish travelling—Christianstad—Skane —Blekinge—Roads . . . . .	9
---	---

#### CHAPTER III.

Carlskrona—Wexio—Mines—Distilleries—Gotha canal —Norkopping—Inns . . . . .	28
---	----

#### CHAPTER IV.

Stockholm—Public buildings—Statues—The Diet . . .	43
---	----

#### CHAPTER V.

Gustaf III.'s differences with the nobles—The theatre— Assassination of Gustaf . . . . .	59
---	----

#### CHAPTER VI.

Sigtuna—Upsala—The cathedral—The palace—The murder of the Stures . . . . .	90
---	----

#### CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Stockholm—Party at Gefle—Dalerna— Escape of Gustaf Wasa from Ormöes—Falhun—The copper-mine—Swedish paper, and copper money . . .	107
---	-----

## CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

Norrland—Change in the Gulf of Bothnia—Finnish sledge—Angermanland—West Bothnia—Sunnana—A funeral procession—Lyksele—Bear-hunting—Crossing the Gulf on the ice—Boxes at Lulea—Ranby . . .	134
---	-----

## CHAPTER IX.

Happaranda—Tornea—Cossacks—Avasaxa on Midsummer's night—Summer travelling in North Bothnia—Rigour of the climate—Gellivara—Reappearance of the sun—A Lapland family . . . . .	160
---	-----

## CHAPTER X.

Muonio-Niska and Tornea Lapmark—Lapland costume—Snow-shoes—Sledge and harness—Reindeer—Hætta—Wolves—Moss . . . . .	189
--	-----

## CHAPTER XI.

Koutokeino—The Laplanders' habits—Their language—Singing—Diseases—Origin of their name—The mountains—Sullivara . . . . .	213
--	-----

## CHAPTER XII.

Bosekope—Kaafjord copper-mine—Anecdote of a Laplander and a bear—Reindeer cheese and milk—Œstrus Tarandi—The pastor of Koutokeino—A Lapland beauty	248
--	-----

## CHAPTER XIII.

Sorcery of the Laplanders . . . . .	284
-------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XIV.

Gripsholm—Eric's dungeon—Westeras—A Lapland giantess—Gottenburg . . . . .	308
---	-----



# A WINTER IN LAPLAND.

---

## CHAPTER I.

Hamburg—Kiel—Copenhagen.

SOME years ago, while wandering in the north of Europe, I made an attempt to reach Lapland; but, as my time was limited, and I was afraid of losing the last opportunity of passing over to Iceland that season, unless I made a hasty return to Copenhagen, I was obliged to retrace my steps, after penetrating no further than into Dalecarlia, and to postpone my journey to that quarter till another time.

After remaining a year in Iceland, I went to North America, and, thinking I should now be seasoned for the rigours of a Lapland winter by the two previously spent at Reikiavik and Toronto, I again bent my way towards Sweden, and determined on crossing over to the Icy Sea. For me, the north has always had particular attractions; the beauty of the winter, the hardihood and simplicity of the inhabitants, those vast forests and lofty mountains which cover the greatest part of it, certainly have charms which cannot be understood by those who have lived in the mild climates of the south. As Frithiof says, when cruising in the Mediterranean,

“ Nordens de fasta, de älskade fjäller  
Locka med underlig makt min hag.”

The rapidity with which vegetation advances, and, in a couple of weeks, changes the whole face of the country; the beauty of the day that lasts for weeks together; and the brilliancy of the weather during the long winter; combine

to give Sweden a beautiful, though severe, climate.

Accordingly, in the month of August, I crossed over to Hamburg by a steamer, and soon found myself in that noisy place. Every thing is here matter of fact and vulgar, from the peasant-girls, with their thick legs, and hats like beehives, to the Hebrew countenances that monopolize whole districts of the town. It is generally said, that there are more deformed persons congregated at Lisbon than in any other city ; but in one description, that of hunch-backs, probably no place in the world can surpass Hamburg. Every variety of contortion is to be met with here ; and there is no probability that the next generation will be less ornamental, as there are certainly enough of the rising one to replace the present beauties whenever they disappear.

The streets are particularly dirty and rough ; in fact, like the worst part of the city of London, divested of its pavement and shops. The

amusements are numerous enough, and a tolerable opera is to be found ; but, to a person not immersed in business, Hamburg must be a particularly dull residence. The dirty canals, swarming with filth, and emitting pestiferous odours when the tide is out, cannot but render it unhealthy. In building, the perpendicular elevation is not the only one used ; many houses expand as they rise, and remind one of card houses, with which they probably vie in stability.

The most natural route, with a view to reaching the Baltic from Hamburg, would be the town of Lubeck. As, however, the King of Denmark has a town of his own some miles further off, he has determined to put every obstacle in the way of persons going to Lubeck, and to force them to embark at Kiel. This he is unfortunately enabled, in a great measure, to do, by the Duchy of Lauenberg, which belongs to him, lying between the two free towns. He therefore keeps the road through this part of his possessions in such a detestable state of re-



pair, that twelve hours is scarcely sufficient to perform the distance of six German miles that intervenes. I believe that the king has at last allowed a railroad to be constructed for passengers only, as the transit of goods might materially interfere with the amount of revenue obtained by the Sound dues.

As I had a long journey before me, and no wish to expend all my patience at so early a stage of it, I gave up the idea of going by this execrable road, and preferred the penalty of waiting three days for a steamer in Kiel. Though a university town, there was little to amuse; and I was heartily glad when the steamer *Frederik den Siette* appeared in the firth that runs into the Baltic from the town. The passage to Copenhagen is not more than twenty-three hours' duration, even by the very slow boat that has the monopoly granted to it. The first part that is passed in the night is in open sea; but, with the morning, a beautiful view is displayed, when the boat approaches the channel between the Danish islands. The

isle called Möen is particularly admired for its white aspect from afar; the distance between the different islands can hardly be more than a couple of English miles, and the sea is generally as still as a mill-pond.

In the afternoon we arrived at Copenhagen, and, after a little delay about the bills of health, we were allowed to land. The city is too flat to be viewed from any one spot. The streets are wide, and the houses fine. Much of the damage which the British troops did to it during the bombardment, has not yet been repaired. Among others, the Frue Kirke (the Lady Church) has suffered much, the whole steeple having been destroyed. The public building most worth notice is the Exchange, which is ornamented with a steeple formed of three crocodiles, with their tails upreared and twisted together. The design is curious, and assorts with that of the rest of the building. The interior is chiefly filled with shops, and but a small portion is devoted to the meeting of the merchants. In this part, which is no-

thing more than a moderate-sized hall, there is a picture of Christian the Fourth meeting Tycho Brahe. It is said that the astronomer lost his nose in a duel, and had it replaced by a golden one. The picture in question does not corroborate the report, which is probably merely an emanation of the vivid imagination of some one who perceived a yellow tint in the philosopher's nose.

There is no lack of royal palaces in Copenhagen. The one of Christianberg, that lies next to the Exchange, is, perhaps, the largest; and its stables can contain four hundred horses. They occupy two quarters of circles at the back; and that portion appropriated to the saddle-horses has all the pillars, between the stalls, of marble. The horses are generally large, ponderous animals; many of them over-kneed, from being, it is said, always kept upon rising ground. The same palace contains a museum of Scandinavian antiquities, which are very curious, and, in some cases, peculiar to the country; particu-

larly those brought from Iceland. The picture-gallery is large, but it is chiefly filled with copies.

Copenhagen is altogether a dull town; its inhabitants are heavy, and its trade has departed. The separation of Norway from the Danish crown has struck a mortal blow at the navy of the country, the former producing its best seamen. The king still keeps up an army of fifty thousand men; but at a great sacrifice of the comforts of the people, who are obliged to serve whether they will or not.

There is a very pretty theatre, but rather small for the only one in a of capital 130,000 inhabitants. The acting is good, and the whole representation got up in very good style.

Having seen the "lions" of Copenhagen, I moved towards my destination; and, committing myself to a post-waggon, arrived at Elsinour and Kronborg Castle. Here a boat was soon procured; and, the wind being fair, in half an hour I landed in Sweden.



## CHAPTER II.

---

Helsingborg—Swedish travelling—Christianstad—  
Skane—Blekinge—Roads.

Nothing can be more striking than the immediate change that presents itself on landing at Helsingborg. What a difference between the clumsy, ill-appointed Danish troops on the opposite shore, and the tall, smart hussars of Prince Oscar, who do duty here! Drilling has not been much resorted to in either case; and, to one accustomed to see British soldiers, there appears to be here but little discipline; yet the

Swede, having naturally a better carriage and a finer figure, the want of it is not so evident in him. Another contrast is not so favourable to Sweden. The horses and oxen are so diminutive, that it would not be difficult to transport a waggon and team in a Danish cart.

The harbour is very small and shallow, suited only for boats, and has been completed but a few years. On a round block of granite, at the termination of the pier, a sentry pointed out to me the words Carl Johan, cut and gilt, in a large running hand. At his last visit to Helsingborg, the king wrote his name here with a piece of chalk, and the people of the town have thus perpetuated his autograph.

A very slight examination of the luggage took place, and we proceeded to a "køllare," or tavern, in the market-place. In this point, I fear that comparison between the opposite shores would be unfavourable to this one, though the inn at Helsingborg is far from the worst that it has been my fortune to enter in Sweden. A

room, strewn with fir-leaves, that give rather an agreeable scent when trodden on, and covered with "taxas," or tables of rates (for every thing in Sweden, down to an innkeeper's bill, is regulated by the burgomaster), was the first that presented itself. A couple of girls ran about under pretence of waiting; but evidently paid more attention to divers compliments, carelessly thrown at them by some idlers, than to their own business.

The party that had come over in the same boat from Elsinour, were soon provided with horses, and dispersed in different directions. Unless willing to have one's bones shaken to pieces in the peasants' carts, it is necessary to provide oneself here with a vehicle; as, except where there is water-carriage, Sweden does not afford any more commodious conveyance than that called Skjuts. A diligence has been established between Helsingborg and Stockholm for the last four years; but, I understand, that not even this solitary coach pays its expenses.

It goes round by Gottenburg, and takes six or seven days to perform its journey; while the same distance can be run over in four. I accordingly applied to my Boniface, who appeared to be the sole broker in such cases in the town, to procure me a carriage of some kind. Like a Jew money-lender, he had nothing of the sort himself; but, after divers inquiries among his friends, he found one that would dispose of a light waggon for a couple of ponies. This round-about way of proceeding arose, no doubt, from a fear of being beaten down in the price, a practice too universally adopted by Englishmen as soon as they leave their country, and frequently enforced little to their credit. The cost of the carriage and harness together, amounted to little more than ten pounds, and even that, I afterwards found, was far more than a Swede would have given for it.

Helsingborg can boast of no other attraction than Ramelies, a watering-place a little way off, which is much visited in summer by the Danes.



The town itself is a mean-looking place, without even the regularity of *Elsineur* to recommend it. On the rising ground, at the back of the town, which commands the Sound, there are the remains of an ancient fortress. Hoping to have a fair view of *Zealand* from the top of the tower, I climbed the hill, and found the old tower in so ruinous a state, that every entrance into it was blocked up. The land on the opposite shore presents an almost dead flat, chiefly covered with wood; but the number of ships always collected in the Sound, give it rather a lively appearance.

The law of Sweden imposes on the peasants, living near the roads, the obligation of providing horses for travellers. In *Skane* and *Smaland*, which formerly belonged to Denmark, they are bound to bring their horses to the post-house when summoned; but in the north, this duty is rendered still more onerous, by their being forced to take their turns in sending a fixed number of horses, regulated by the usual demand on each

road, to the post-house to which they are attached ; and they are not allowed to leave the place before twenty-four hours have elapsed, if not hired before that time. It will at once be seen how hard this regulation must press upon the "bonde," or peasant. Not only is he liable to have his cattle and servants taken away without notice, but the remuneration is quite inadequate.

In summer he is often summoned while at work in the fields, and obliged to leave his crops on the ground, and is thereby not unfrequently subjected to much damage. Where a "Hall," or station for horses, exists, the evil is still greater. The law does not entitle the farmer to payment for more than the horses ; and as the person who can best be spared on the farm is usually sent to accompany the horses and bring them back, boys are left loitering about the whole day at a tavern, and learn, what is already but too prevalent, drunkenness. The demoralizing effects of this system has often attracted the attention of the Diet, and attempts have been

made to correct it, and remove this burden from the particular class on whom it is imposed; but I have been told that all propositions for a change have been strongly opposed by the chamber of peasants, who consider it better to suffer some inconvenience in summer, than to be deprived of the advantage of letting their horses in winter, when they have little or no work for them at home.

As the horses have often to be sent for at a distance of two miles or more, the delays of changing would make travelling in this part of the country very slow and tedious, were not relays ordered beforehand, by sending a "förbud," or message. For this purpose a number of slips of paper, each inscribed with the name of the "gæstgifvare-gard," or inn, for which it is destined, the number of horses, and the hour at which they will be required, are pinned together in their order, and given to the postmaster. These "förbud sedlar," or bills, will be forwarded from place to place, each gæstgifvare tearing off one,

and sending it to the peasant whose turn it is to come out, and who will be fined if he disregards the summons.

Luggage, which the traveller finds inconvenient to take himself, can with safety be sent on with the bills ; but though there is little fear of its suffering from the dishonesty of the driver, the owner must not be astonished if the roughness of the conveyance has made material alteration in the appearance of his portmanteau, and unless very strong, and well protected by covers, shaken it entirely to pieces. Some care must be taken in making out the lists, as the “ skjuts bonde,” or driver, is not bound to wait more than four hours ; and after the second hour, must be paid for the delay.

Mine host at Helsingborg offered to take this trouble off my hands, and gave me a practical lesson for the future, not to leave to others what can be done by oneself. Through inadvertence he ordered horses at two remote stations for the same hour. I escaped with merely paying for



the time that I had kept the second set waiting, and considered myself fortunate ; for had I arrived very little later, the horses would have been gone, and I should have been delayed several hours at each succeeding place, before reaching Christianstad, which was the end of my first day's journey.

The day was fine, and the road enlivened by groups of peasants repairing to church. The head-dress of the women, called Kluten, is peculiar to Skane, and is worn throughout the province, with some modification. It is properly a white handkerchief, worked at the border, and folded, in a very intricate way, on a round flat shape, that covers the head. In other respects the dress of both men and women varies considerably in different parts of Skane ; the inhabitants differing materially in appearance and customs in each " Harad," or district.

Generally speaking, the Skanians are not much liked by the rest of their countrymen. Their proximity to Denmark, and the length

of time that they formed a part of the Danish nation, are not likely to endear them to those who have always been Swedes. Their dialect also approaches nearer than any in Sweden to the Danish; and many words of the latter tongue have superseded that of their country. Living chiefly in plains, and on the richest land in Sweden, they are among the most indolent of its inhabitants. They are, however, valiant trenchermen, and, as a native writer remarks about them, one of their most frugal repasts would serve for a feast in Dalecarlia. They are moreover considered suspicious and vindictive, two qualities which cannot be justly laid to the charge of their northern countrymen.

At sunset I passed the gates of Christianstad, the chief town of the lœn of the same name. The town was originally founded by Christian the Fourth of Denmark, and was probably fortified by him as a frontier-town. Since the cession of Skane to Sweden, the place has

naturally fallen into insignificance as a fortress ; and its ramparts are of more service in keeping convicts within them than enemies without. Of these unfortunate individuals above three hundred are kept at Christianstad, which is considered a mild place of punishment. I observed, during my stay, a great number marched about the streets, under the escort of one or two artillerymen with drawn swords ; but I fear that the work they did would not repay their expenses to the country. A few individuals, who had made an attempt at escaping, were distinguished by an iron clog, a foot long, attached to their ankles. It is very rarely that any succeed in freeing themselves before their time of punishment is over. The police regulations in Sweden, though by no means as vexatious as in many other countries, make it difficult for any one to travel through it unknown ; and should the prisoner gain the opposite shore, Denmark will not be a safer asylum to him than his own native woods.

In some of the fortresses for prisoners, especially Marstrand, a short distance north of Gottenburg, the treatment of convicts is represented as particularly severe; and a countryman of mine, who had visited one of them, assured me that nothing could exceed the misery of the wretched persons who were huddled together, and deprived of every thing that could make life desirable, or even endurable.

As the Swedes have no colonies to which they can transport their criminals, the majority of fortified places are crowded with prisoners, and I should think that crime was rather on the increase than otherwise, as those already built are in some cases insufficient to answer the wants of the present time; and proposals have been made to erect a new fortress at Gefle.

The streets are wide and straight; and a fair proportion of the houses are built of stone. The town has had some pretensions to commerce; and a harbour, called Ahus, is attached to it. The communication between these two



points was intended to have been improved by a canal, which was commenced by the founder of the city; but which, amidst the changes of government that have taken place, has been lost sight of, and the whole work has fallen into decay.

At Sölvitsborg, a very indifferent town, I had a partial view of the Baltic. The shore is here rocky, and tolerably high. The small broken rocks that border the whole of the eastern coast from Tornea, disappear a little to the south of this town, and are replaced by low shores that continue to Ystad, the most south-westerly point.

Not far to the eastward from Sölvitsborg, begins the beautiful province of Blekinge; beautiful not only in landscape, but also in its women, who are considered to surpass their countrywomen in personal attractions. The scenery is most varied in every direction; rocks are every where peeping out of the ground, and giving the country an undulating appearance,

that is refreshing after the flats that cover a large portion of Skane; the habitations are generally very cleanly, and the people more sprightly than their neighbours.

While taking my breakfast at Carlshamn, a young damsel came in, and begged I would carry a parcel for her to Ronneby, a small market-town, a little way on the road to Carlskrona. It is easy to judge by this, that the communication between even neighbouring towns is very slight. The post, I believe, goes about four times a week from one place to the other; but there are no means of sending any thing larger than a letter, except by an express conveyance. Ronneby I found a most lively little market-town, crowded with carts and peasants.

The horses in the south of Sweden are small but handsome, and very spirited. They are always driven in pairs, with double shafts, the pole being jointed about the middle, and divided into pieces. Though the collars are of wood, and totally unfurnished with stuffing, it is

rare to meet with a galled neck, and lameness is as uncommon. I have heard it remarked that the custom of making the horses stand on boards instead of litter, preserves them from many diseases to which those more luxuriously treated are subject.

The inhabitants of Blekinge were, in former times, great pirates, and were looked upon as some of the most terrible marauders that came from the shores of the Baltic. The ferocity which distinguished their race seems to have descended to more modern times, and even in the last century their convivial meetings were so boisterous, that the wives of those who attended them took the precaution of having with them whatever might be required in case a quarrel should arise, and their partners be either wounded or killed. To render their combats the more sanguinary, the contending parties bound themselves together by their belts, and and thus rendered it impossible for either to retreat. The usual conclusion of a fight, car-

ried on in this way was, as may be naturally expected, the death of, at least, one of the adversaries; and as knives were the weapons used in deciding the contest, it is only a wonder that both did not fall in the encounter.

The goodness of the Swedish roads has often been remarked upon by travellers; and to one coming from either Germany or Denmark, the improvement he meets with in this respect must be most agreeable. The advantage, however, is not attended with the same "*amari aliquid*" that it is in England. With the exception of an occasional bridge, where a few farthings are demanded, no toll whatever is imposed on vehicles. Each peasant living near the road has a portion marked out, which it is his duty to keep in repair. Short posts, with letters painted on them, point out to each person the quantity placed under his charge. The ease with which excellent materials for making roads are procured in a country which is composed almost entirely of rock, makes the duty that falls on

each farmer comparatively light; and two or three days in June suffice to cover them with a coat of gravel, which will last till the snow again covers the earth.

The carriage of heavy goods is generally reserved for the winter, as a horse can easily draw twice as much in a sledge as with wheels. The hardness of the winter is, therefore, of incalculable advantage to the Swede. When once the frost has set in, he is no longer subjected to the variations of weather that take place from day to day with us; the sky is as clear as in summer, and the shortness of the day is amply compensated for by the brightness of the nights. The weather may be trying when the cold first commences, but the frame soon accustoms itself to it, and nothing can be more delightful than driving over the smooth snow at a rapid rate, wrapped in a wolf-skin pelisse, and enlivened by the merry jingle of the sleigh bells.

The country between Sölvitsborg and Carlskrona displays but little fertility of soil; the



population depend on fishing, and look less like agricultural labourers than sailors, whose costume they chiefly adopt. The dress of the women is more national; at all times neat, it becomes even rich when a holiday takes place. In those parts that border on Skane, the married women are distinguished from the girls by the same sort of round head-dress as is worn in that province. They alone are allowed to wear rings; in the rest of Sweden both the man and the woman wear them as soon as they are betrothed; in Blekinge, the damsel does not receive one until after the bans have been published for the first time.

Thirty miles from Ronneby the driver pointed out Carlskrona, lying out on an island, and joined to the mainland by a series of bridges that connect two large rocks, and form the only entrance by land. Seen from a distance, the town presents a rather imposing appearance. The ground upon which it is built rises in the centre, and gives a commanding appearance to

a church built upon the highest point, and bearing a strong resemblance to St. Sulpice, at Paris. But the nakedness of the land exhibited itself when I had entered the last gate.

Vast streets, many of them with a natural pavement of granite, and with scarcely a man in them, except the sentries, that were posted at intervals, branched off on every side ; and when I marked the great number of looking-glasses outside the windows, to reflect the passers by into the houses, I could not help thinking that the sight of the human face divine must be a treat in Carlskrona which was not be overlooked.

CHAPTER III.

---

Carlskrona—Wexio—Mines — Distilleries—Gotha canal  
—Norköpping—Inns.

THE Swedish government is very jealous of admitting foreigners into the dockyard of Carlskrona; for what reason is not clear; as in these days it is difficult to confine any invention of consequence to one country, and the attempt to do so only brings ridicule on itself. At Copenhagen it would, no doubt, be considered bad taste in an Englishman to apply for leave to see the dockyard, after the way it was stripped in 1807; but at Carlskrona there is no reason of

♦

the kind. Nor is there any thing in it, from which a foreign nation could derive knowledge, that might afterwards be taken advantage of against Sweden. The principal objects worth seeing are some docks, hewn out in the solid rock, at an enormous expense, by Gustaf III. With its limited population, and still more limited finances, Sweden cannot hope to play a very conspicuous part in a naval war; and would do far better to confine herself to her gun-boats, which will be her surest protection, and can always be manned at a moment's warning, without incurring the cost of supporting a standing navy.

The town is well defended by two castles, built upon granite islets, that form the entrance of the harbour; but nothing can be more wretched than its situation in a commercial point of view. Built upon a barren island, in a remote angle of the coast, and separated from the mainland by many others, it cannot present one inducement to trade. All that it has to

depend upon is the money laid out for the marines, and a dozen line-of-battle ships laid up in ordinary; and how a population of twelve thousand inhabitants contrive to maintain themselves upon such scanty resources, it is difficult to understand.

In the centre and loftiest part of the town, is the Swedish church; and not far from it the German one, which resembles the Colosseum in London. The former is not unlike the Sainte Sulpice, at Paris; but bears externally great marks of dilapidation. Finding the doors open, I entered and saw a clergyman holding forth to a congregation, that amounted only to three or four women, two of whom, if not actually asleep, were verging rapidly to that state. Outside, the scene was a little more lively; some fifty small carts had arrived, and the bustle of a market-day was usurping the silence that would in an hour or two resume its reign. The streets, far too wide for the number of persons that move in them, are diversified with patches of grass,

and large slabs of granite, that form a natural pavement.

Carlskrona was expected shortly to be enlivened by the presence of the king, who was making a journey round the country, and would stay here about three days. On inquiry, I found he would be lodged at the Freemason's Tavern, at which I was lodging; and as I judged I should have to turn out, I made a hasty retreat, and proceeded on my way to Stockholm.

The province of Smaland, that I now passed through, is the wildest to the south of the capital. The farm-houses are few and mean, and the inhabitants appear generally poor; little corn land was to be seen, the hills were chiefly covered with wood, and for a hundred and twenty miles no town, and little worthy even of the name of a village, cheers the road. Yet Smaland is rich in historical recollections; and one part of it boasts of having produced an army of heroines, who, in the absence of their husbands, defeated the Danes. The recollection of this



exploit is still kept up by a very substantial privilege enjoyed by the women in Værend. In other parts of the country, daughters receive in inheritance only half as much as the sons; in this district they are placed on a par with their brothers, and are further distinguished by a rich costume, which partakes somewhat of a military character on solemn occasions.

A small town, called Wexio, was to be found a little way off the road to Stockholm; last winter it was totally destroyed by one of those conflagrations that have swept away more than one place in Sweden. As most of the towns are built entirely of timber, the progress of the flames is irresistible, and wherever the devouring element has passed, not a vestige of an habitation remains. All the better cities have been thus cleared away, and rebuilt during the last few years. Gottenburg rather gained than lost by the accident; as it was of mere timber when burnt, but is now of brick. In Bergen, in Norway, a mode has been adopted that

checks those universal conflagrations ; every tenth house must be built of stone or brick, and thus some time is given to save, at least, part of a street. Living with the dread of fire before them, the Swedes are very careful in this respect ; all houses and churches in the country are provided with ladders ready placed against the roof, to facilitate the escape of the inmates. In winter, the excessive cold makes it still more difficult to arrest the fire ; for, as the water is always frozen, little help can be obtained that way.

Near the market of Hvetlanda, there is some pretence to a gold-mine at Adelfors, the produce of which is scarcely sufficient to entitle it to the name. Swedes have often shown me watches, and told me the cases were of native gold ; but I have been informed by others, who were equally correct, that the annual amount of that metal, collected from all the mines in the country, does not exceed one or two pounds weight. In Norway. the supply is rather larger,

and some ducats were coined with it by one of the kings of Denmark ; but such doubt was expressed as to its being really Norwegian, that, upon repeating the coinage, a pair of spectacles were ordered to be stamped upon the pieces by the same king, that the incredulous might see and believe.

Sweden is richer in silver-mines, though not to be compared in this respect with Norway. The king owns one in the neighbourhood of Sala, between Falhun and Westeras, which produces more lead than silver. In 1834 I was induced to descend into it, from the recollection of an account that I had read of it, when a boy, in one of Madame de Genlis's works ; but how different did I find the reality from her description ! No misery was apparent in the countenances of the miners ; none were doomed never again to see the light of heaven ; on the contrary, the songs that reverberated through the vaults, bore witness to the lightness of heart that reigned in those regions.

One of the greatest misfortunes of Sweden has been the introduction of corn brandy. Its cheapness, and the natural inclination to too free a use of this stimulant, which is to be found here in as great force as among other northern nations, have done incalculable harm to the country. The greatest portion of the potatoes raised are never intended for food, but are turned into spirits; and when, last year, the failure of the crop threatened a scarcity of brandy, the duties of importation were taken off from foreign potatoes, lest the people should be stinted in their pernicious beverage. As it is the most profitable produce, rents are often partially, and sometimes, I believe, entirely paid in this article.

The law may also be said to encourage the making of brandy, though the legislature must feel the bad effects of the enactments at present in force in this respect. Instead of prohibiting tubs, under a certain size, being used in distilling, the law limits the capacity of the pans, and

thus makes every farmer a distiller. Some check to intemperance has been attempted by forming temperance societies ; their success, however, has as yet been very trifling ; and when I have heard them named, it has been generally with some expression of ridicule. I have often seen little boys, not more than nine or ten years of age, toss off a dram raw ; and at last was so accustomed to the sight, that I have been quite surprised when some youth has refused the glass. Such instances did not amount to more than three or four during my whole sojourn in Sweden ; and if a third person was by, he was sure to appropriate what had been declined by the disciple of abstinence.

After passing through the little town of Eksjö, the country takes a more favourable aspect. Towards the north-west extends the great lake Wetter, only second to the Wenern in extent, and remarkable for the storms with which it is agitated. Near Grenna are the remarkable ruins of Brabrehus, perched upon a

lofty cliff, several hundred feet above the lake. There is little navigation through this part, the communication being principally at the northern extremity, near Motala. The Gotha canal has only been lately completed, and the advantages arising to the country from it must be already evident, by the number of vessels that cross the interior of the country, and thus avoid the payment of the Sound dues. It is in contemplation to make the canal wide enough for large ships, to allow those bound for Russia taking this route ; but this project will, no doubt, be resisted by the people of Gottenburg, who would thereby lose the advantage of the goods passing through their hands. A fortress is also being built, to protect the navigation of the canal in case of emergency ; and as a central spot upon which to fall back. But as, by the present plans, the fortifications will not be completed before the lapse of fifty years, and as before that time the fate of Sweden will pro-



bably have undergone a change, such slow precautions are little better than useless.

The canal was only required to connect the Wetter and the Wenern, a few miles between Motala and the lake Roxen, and the space between its eastern extremity and Södreköpping, where it meets the Baltic. Though a great national work, it does not present such difficulties as might be expected in crossing about four hundred miles. Near Trollehætta, the falls have required many locks; but, in other parts, the facilities were such that the undertaking should have been concluded long ago.

A pleasing contrast to the dull towns of the south of Sweden displays itself in Linköping and Norköpping. The latter part of these names is pronounced chiopping, and bears some analogy to the chipping prefixed to Barnet and Norton, and, I believe, some other places in England. In Sweden, a great many of the towns in the neighbourhood of the Mœ-

lare and Wenern have this distinction, which signifies trading-place. At Norköpping there are large manufactories of cloth, nearly equal to that made in Germany, and protected against foreign, and particularly British, produce, by heavy duties. It is the most thriving town that I had yet gone through since entering the country ; and its fresh painted and commodious houses evince its commercial prosperity. The tedious regularity of the streets is partially broken by the splendid rapids that pass through the city, and give motion to numberless mills. The walls in many places are covered with cloth left to dry, and an American activity pervades the whole place.

I happened to leave Norköpping in the afternoon, and meeting with an accident which delayed me on the road, I did not reach Nyköping till three in the morning. When I found myself in the inn yard, I discovered that it would be no easy matter to get inside the house. With the help of the peasant, I at last

aroused a girl, who turned out very lightly clad, and, moreover, seemed very cross at my arrival. Having satisfied herself that I intended to stop till the morning, she made me a bed, and left me without a candle. Upon my asking for one, she turned to me fiercely, and asked me what I could want with one, as the moon shone quite brightly enough. In summer, I have rarely found such a thing offered me at any of the post-houses ; and the accommodation of other sorts was on the same scanty scale. The washhand-basins, in particular, are the smallest I have met with, and might be mistaken for large slop-basins.

The people, it cannot be denied, are generally very obliging and civil ; but many things that to us are necessities of the first class, seem to them ridiculous luxuries, asked for only to give trouble. Whoever, therefore, travels in Sweden by land, ought either to make up his mind to do without many things to which he is accustomed, or to be preceded by a waggon as large

as Noah's ark, filled with every thing necessary to incipient housekeeping. One thing is to be said in favour of the inns, they always have clean linen ; but their beds are so short and narrow, as to be more like coffins than any thing to take only temporary rest in. How the Swedes, who are by no means short, can put up with this deficiency, I cannot say ; I know that I have often risen more tired than when I lay down.

Luckily, in summer the steam navigation is in such general use, and is so expeditious, that in most quarters the journey can be much abridged, and posting needs be but partially resorted to. The fares on steam-boats are ridiculously low, from the cheapness of fuel ; and the great habit of travelling which seems to pervade the nation. The vessels are tolerably well fitted up, and accidents rarely occur ; and comforts, at least superior to those of the best post-houses are to be found on board.

I was now close to the metropolis, and met

with little to mark the change. The country near the lake Mœlare is certainly the best in Sweden ; though, in the part I was now crossing, there was little to attract notice. The same long forests of pine, relieved but too rarely by a wooden house, cease to please after the first few days, and the eye rests with delight on the little towns, or rather villages, that succeed each other at long intervals. Large droves of cattle, not the fatter for their journey, impede the way, and give the first notice of a larger city. At last, when least expected, the city of Stockholm appears, and a new view presents itself.

CHAPTER IV.

---

Stockholm—Public buildings—Statues—The Diet.

THERE is little to announce the neighbourhood of a capital at the distance of a mile from Stockholm; and even on arriving at the Horns Tull, or Southern Barrier, there are few signs of a town. None of those taverns and pleasure-grounds that surround Copenhagen and Hamburg are to be met with here. Stockholm has, in fact, no suburbs; and even the ground included within its limits, is far from covered with houses. For the first mile within the



Horns Tull the road is lined on either side with gardens, more intended for profit than amusement; though, from the rocky nature of the soil, much of the former could not be reasonably expected.

On passing the barrier, a sentry asked me where I came from; but on my telling him that I would leave my passport at the police-office, I was not detained: a little further I met with a greater check, in the shape of some custom-house officers, who did not let me off so easily. My luggage underwent a much stricter examination here than at Helsingborg, as little care is taken to protect the revenue, except at Stockholm and Gottenburg.

There exists a salutary regulation in Sweden, by which a custom-house officer, if he strongly suspects an individual of having smuggled goods concealed about his person, is at liberty to search him; but must first tender fifty rix dollars banco. Should he fail in discovering any thing, the searched person is at liberty to

keep the money; but, if the contrary be the case, he forfeits both the goods and the rix dollars. This rule acts as a proper check upon the petty tyranny of underlings, which is so vexatious all over the continent; though here, from the universal civility of all classes, I should think it less needed than elsewhere.

At last I entered the more thickly-populated part of the town. The buildings as yet were mean enough, as the Sodermalm, or southern part of the city, is chiefly inhabited by the lower classes. A sudden turn brought me to the brow of a steep descent, from which the island of Stockholm, and the harbour, were visible. A most incessant din here assails the ears; on either side of the foot of the draw-bridge, that connects the isle with the mainland, are large wharfs, called Iernvagen,\* where the staple of the country is stamped before exportation.

The isle of Stockholm is connected with the

\* Iron wharf.

mainland, both north and south, by bridges. On the south there is a double lock, through which the craft employed on the Lake Mælare pass from the Baltic. On the north a handsome granite bridge, used much as a promenade, from its being the only spot in the capital with a *trottoir*, connects the place with another isle\* and the Norrmalm. Besides the latter and Södermalm, the city consists of eight holms, three of which, however, are not much built upon, and are chiefly occupied by the government. Few cities that I have seen are more beautifully situated, or present a more delightful variety of height and water.

There is a steep hill called Musse-back, near St. Catherine's church in the south; and from this spot a capital bird's-eye view is obtained of the whole series of islands and the surrounding country; but to the stranger the far most striking approach will be along the splen-

\* " Helge. Andes Holm"—Holy Ghost Island.

did lake Mœlare in a steamer. The most commanding object is the Royal Palace, that towers over the rest of the city, and, though in itself remarkable only for its size, is very imposing from its great elevation. Some few years back, the lofty spire of Riddarholm Kyrka added much to the beauty; the church has since been gutted by fire, and the spire has fallen in. All that now remains is the bare walls and the royal coffins; among them is that of Charles XII., and some of the later kings. The fire lasted three days, and seems only to have stopped when every thing combustible had been exhausted.

Though the meanest in point of streets, the Isle of Stockholm is far the most interesting in most points. The Palace, the Parliament House, the Cathedral, and the Storr Torg in the great square, are all noted in the history of the country. The last place in particular is indelibly marked as the scene of the massacre of the nobles by Christiern II. of Denmark.

In its present state it little deserves the name of great ; it is even one of the smallest squares in the capital ; but before the erection of the Exchange, which has robbed it of half its surface, it extended to the " Stora Kyrka," or Cathedral, and was then certainly the largest open place in the isle.

One of its houses still preserves the memory of the bloody tragedy enacted there ; its front is studded with square prominent stones, equal in number to the victims who fell on that day beneath the stroke of the executioner. Christiern, in the mad project of annihilating the whole of the Swedish aristocracy, spared neither the aged nor the young. Gustaf Wasa's father, sinking under the weight of years, fell, as well as some noble children, of an age so tender as not to understand the fate they were about to undergo.

Christiern should have learnt from history, that such attempts can never succeed, that with every precaution that the cruellest policy can

devise, some remains of the persecuted race will escape, and, at a future day, avenge the wrongs of their country and family upon those that have trampled on their rights.

The first deficiency of which a stranger is made sensible in Stockholm, is the want of a real inn. Lodgings of every variety are to be met with in most streets, where apartments can be taken furnished for any period; but a real hotel, where the traveller can be provided with board as well as lodging, is yet a desideratum in this capital. Some establishment of the kind is contemplated, and signs of its future existence are visible in Brunkebergs Torget, but the progress of the works is so slow, that any person who considers his comfort had better postpone any visit he intends to the Swedish capital for at least the next two years.

I had provided myself with cards of different places of entertainment as I progressed through the country, but an external view of most was sufficient to satisfy me that I need look no far-



ther. At last, finding the horses that had brought me the last stage were becoming tired, I came to an anchor in a street running out of "Drottning-gatan," or Queen-street, the longest and widest of Stockholm. The rooms were clean, and had no lack of looking-glasses, but no carpet covered the floor; a wooden box by the side of the stove also corroborated certain suspicions of the general habits of the people, which the smell of tobacco in every quarter had awakened.

As soon as the landlady returned and heard of my arrival, a paper was given to me, printed in English, French, and German, containing questions concerning the traveller, his country, business, and the period he intended to remain in Stockholm. On my first visit to Sweden the questions amounted to thirteen or fourteen, and included inquiries which could not regard the police at all, such as the religion, &c., of the new comer. They had, however, been now curtailed, and reduced to four; which, being

duly answered, were despatched to the Overstathallare, who probably lighted his pipe with them; at least no further notice was taken of them, and no personal appearance before any authorities was required of me.

The system of clubs has not been carried very far in Stockholm; there are two, called the Great and Little Society, where the members can dine, but I suspect that the fare is indifferent, as the single men generally dine at Restaurateurs. The one I chiefly visited was frequented by officers of the guards, who have no mess. The waiting is entirely in the hands of the women, and I suspect that, in some cases, their beauty makes the badness of the dinner be overlooked. Cooking is not the Swedes' forte; and their bills of fare display no great variety, either as regards the material or the mode of dressing it. Mutton is much less used than elsewhere; probably the great number of wolves that infest the country is one reason. As for their beef, the journey from Smaland, whence the

cattle chiefly comes, is enough to destroy the little fat it acquired in the south.

In the middle of the day the liveliest part of Stockholm is the Norrbro, which is crowded when the weather is fine. Close to it is a garden, nearly on a level with the water, where a coffee-house has been built; and which, in summer, is a most frequented spot. Formerly smoking was prohibited in the streets of Stockholm, as well as in the other towns; since the cholera raged in Sweden, however, this indulgence, which was restricted to the garden on the Norrbro, has been permitted throughout the city.

Stockholm is not deficient in monuments; and those which it possesses, though few, are very good. Gustaf Adolph's equestrian statue, in the square of the same name, is not only beautiful itself, but erected in a most favourable situation. The clearness of the air has preserved the bronze unclouded and bright, and the pedestal of polished granite is as resplendent as

a mirror. The statue of Gustaf III., near the harbour, has been peculiarly admired; it is the work of the Swedish sculptor Sergil, who has represented the king as on his return from the Finnish war. The figure is on foot, advancing with a wreath, and is superior to any modern statue I have seen in the north. The quay upon which it stands is of granite, and was built by the Dalecarlian regiment, and a more beautiful specimen of masonry than it and the Lejonback,\* or ascent in front of the palace, which is constructed of the same material, is not to be found.

The Cathedral, or "Stora Kyrka," is imposing neither in its exterior nor interior; its chief internal ornament is a large figure of St. George, or "St. Joran," on horseback, killing a dragon. I never could find out how this champion gained admittance into the church, where he is as misplaced as the equestrian statue of Charles IX.

\* Lion hill, so called from two bronze figures of that animal.

in the middle of the quire of the cathedral of Strøengnæs. It is in this place that the king holds his coronation; and though close to the palace, he rides back. The horse used on this occasion is shod with silver, with the shoes loosely tacked on, that the people may have an opportunity of tearing them off while the king is on his back. This custom may be considered a set-off to the scramble for medals at the English coronation.

The only memorial of Gustaf IV. is a granite obelisk raised by him, in compliance with his father's wish, in testimony of the fidelity of the burghers of Stockholm, during the first Finnish war; at present it serves more to call to the recollection the loss of that fine province by the son, than its defence by the father. There is, however, one monument which cannot but recall gratifying events to the mind. It is the statue of Gustaf Ericson Wasa, the father of his country, that stands appropriately in Riddarhus-square, in front of the Parliament-

house. His long beard, sweeping over his breast, gives him a most venerable appearance, and the inscription is particularly suitable to his great merits. It is dedicated, "*Gustavo ex nobili cive optimo regi.*" In the Riddarhus assemble the four Estates, who each form a separate house. The nobles, the priests, the burghers, and the peasants have each a distinct voice; but as the questions are decided by a majority of houses, it is easy for the king, who has the casting vote, to divide the whole body, and thus rule himself.

The session, which is called *Riks-dagar*, takes place only every fifth year; but during the intermediate time deputies elected by each of the Estates, assemble every autumn in the capital, to audit the accounts, and make a report of what requires the notice of the following Diet. These "revisors" are, I believe, eight in number, and are employed two or three months in their investigations. The deputies of the peasants are paid by their constituents, as

was the case of old in England; and I have been told that though mere boors, many of them are particularly shrewd and useful members. Among the portraits of illustrious Swedes, two or three were pointed out to me as likenesses of peasants who had distinguished themselves in the Diet. One of them, clothed like the rest in coarse cloth, is represented as having his coat lined with crimson velvet. This arose from the queen having made him a present of some of this article as a mark of her esteem; and upon her asking him, the next time she saw him, why he had lined an old coat with it, he gallantly inquired, where he could better place her majesty's present than next to his heart.

One of the prettiest spots in Stockholm is Charles XIII.'s square, close to Gustaf Adolph's "torg." As its sides are planted with rows of trees, it bears a nearer approach to a portion of the Champs Elysées than what we call a square. Its chief ornament is a statue of the king, whose name the place bears, supported at the corners



of the pedestals by vast lions. It does not exactly appear for what act this prince shares the same honours as the three first Gustafs, while Charles XII. is nowhere to be seen. Perhaps as the last of a race to which the country mainly owes its renown for three centuries, he received a compliment which the others earned by their own merit.

One feature, however, belonging to this monument is, that it is the only one which enjoys the doubtful honour of having a sentry to protect it. This guard was found necessary to protect it since the discovery of a distich attached to it, that accused the king, in very coarse terms, of having introduced the French rabble, into Sweden.

Nor is this the only insult that his effigy has been subjected to. Charles, while Duke of Södremanland, was at the head of the navy, and accordingly is represented resting his right hand on an anchor. If viewed from a particular place to the left, the anchor is out of sight, and

the ring only and upper part are visible. Owing to the striking resemblance that they bear to a tailor's goose, the nickname of "Skræddare," the Swedish for a knight of the shears, has been given and is still applied to the statue.

CHAPTER V.

---

Gustaf III.'s differences with the nobles—The theatre—Assassination of Gustaf.

BEFORE the reign of Gustaf III., the court of Sweden could boast of little refinement. The disastrous wars of Charles XII. had so much shaken the resources of the country, that half a century did not suffice to restore it to its proper position among the other states of Europe. With the accession of Gustaf, a new era commenced, and had his views at the beginning of his reign not gradually hurried him on at the close to attempt the enslavement of

his country, he might have avoided his miserable end, and left a name worthy of the first place in the history of Sweden.

On ascending the throne, he found the royal prerogative reduced almost to a nonentity, and the country governed by a factious nobility. It had divided into two parties, distinguished by the names of Hats and Caps. The former were adherents to the Russian policy, and the latter were said to be under the influence of French gold. Between the care of both factions, Sweden was in a fair way of becoming a Russian province, when the king determined upon subverting both, and asserting his own mastery.

With this view, he endeavoured to gain the goodwill of the army, and instituted the order of Wasa, which he conferred on subaltern officers. Before this period, there were two orders of knighthood in Sweden; the Seraphim, which answers to our Garter, and is limited to twenty-two members, and a military order called the Sword, which I believe is acquired, like the

Legion of Honour, by length of service, as well as distinguished conduct. Charles XIII. has since added a fourth order, which bears his name, and is confined to freemasons.

After working secretly for some time, the king thought the moment was come for declaring his intentions. Accordingly, on the 19th of August, 1772, he went to the place where the Estates were assembled, and entered into a dispute with the members. The troops, who were devoted to him, received with acclamations the changes he proposed to make in the constitution. These alterations greatly circumscribed the privileges of the nobility, and were naturally not very palatable to that part of the Diet.

To ensure their compliance, Gustaf surrounded the assembly-house with soldiers and cannon, and, followed by his military staff, entered, and proposed the new constitution. Resistance would have been of no avail, and the members were compelled to sign it.

Flushed with his success, Gustaf forgot that

he might, some day, be in the same humiliating position himself, and descended to a wanton and cruel exercise of power. Drawing a prayer-book out of his pocket, the king forced the assembled members, surrounded as they were with grenadiers and bayonets, to join in singing a hymn, returning thanks for their own destruction, and that of the constitution. This insult was not soon forgotten by the vanquished nobles; and at a later period Gustaf was made to feel how dangerous it is to ridicule men after injuring them.

Having, by this *coup d'état*, secured to himself undisputed authority, and checked the influence of Catherine of Russia, who, by a connexion with a numerous and venal nobility, ruled Sweden with an almost unlimited sway, he next turned his mind to the internal improvement of his subjects. Being endowed with great literary talent, and being an admirer of France, with some of whose *savans* he was in constant correspondence, he endeavoured to in-

troduce at home the manners of that country, and succeeded but too well in sowing the first seeds of the levity of its court in Stockholm. Even the language underwent a change by the admixture of a vast number of French expressions, which have maintained their place, and give a piebald appearance to the tongue. To complete the innovation, the laxity of morals that distinguished the court of Louis XV. found a ready admission among the courtiers.

Gustaf further amused himself by a tour in Italy and France, during 1783 and 1784, and brought back to Sweden most of those specimens of art that adorn the royal residences. Among others, he purchased a statue of Endymion, a *chef d'œuvre* of the Grecian school, for which Napoleon is said to have offered his son, Gustaf Adolph, the sum of three hundred thousand francs. It was on this tour that Gustaf, who travelled under the name of the Count of Haga, a palace in the neighbourhood of Stock-



holm, got the *sobriquet* of "*il Conte di Haga che molto vede e poco paga.*" Kings so seldom travel, that all through whose countries they pass seem afraid to plunder them too little, and are much astonished when they find that repeated imposition makes a naturally liberal man rather close.

Among his other literary tastes, the king was passionately fond of the drama. He was himself the author of several creditable plays, and often performed in the beautiful little theatre that he erected at the palace of Gripsholm. Wishing to give his countrymen the same tastes as himself, at his return from Italy he built the Opera-house at Stockholm, and at his death bequeathed it to the city.

The front of this edifice extends over the whole of one side of Gustaf Adolph's square, and is exactly matched by the palace of the young princes, sons of Oscar, that faces it. Neither have great pretension to beauty; but

combined with the king's palace, on the island of Stockholm, which forms the fourth side, the effect of the whole is remarkably fine.

The distribution of the interior differs from that of any other theatre that I have seen ; and as it has been the scene of a drama in real life of no slight importance in the history of Sweden, it bears an interest greater than places of the kind generally deserve. Gustaf was fond of display, and carried his notions of etiquette rather far. Every one was expected to alight from their carriages when he passed, and no covered head was allowed to pass the quadrangle of the palace. The building of a new theatre gave him an opportunity of gratifying his love of show, and he availed himself of it. Determined that his court should form as great a part of the spectacle as the stage itself, he not only took up the whole of the centre for the royal box, but reserved about a third of the pit, immediately below it, for his household and the principal officers of state. This privileged place is

raised above the rest of the floor, and, when filled, presents a very brilliant appearance. At present, the king's ignorance of the Swedish tongue is a bar to a frequent show of the kind. Gustaf was often there, surrounded by his court, little foreseeing that he would one day lie bleeding on the very spot on which he delighted to exhibit his splendour.

At the beginning of 1792 Gustaf, alarmed at the progress of the French revolution, and excited by an ardent love of military glory, formed a plan for relieving Louis XVI., and entered into negotiations with other powers for an invasion of France. When the scheme, however, was laid before the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, it was far from favourably received, and Spain, which had been lavish in its promises, gradually fell back. Gustaf was left to act by himself; but, in spite of these obstacles, persevered in his design. With the hope of establishing some order in his finances, before leaving his kingdom, he assembled the States.

He valued himself on his management of the Diet ; and observed that he was the only sovereign who had convoked a public body of that description with success. The business on this occasion was transacted to his satisfaction ; and, after passing some resolutions that strengthened his prerogative, the Diet peaceably concluded its session. Nothing now remained for him to do at home : he was on the point of embarking, when an unforeseen event cut off his prospects of glory and his life together.

His conduct in 1772 and 1789, when he succeeded in making himself entirely absolute, was not forgotten by those from whom he had wrested the power which he now possessed. The nobles still smarted under the sense of their defeat, and a few of the boldest judged this the last opportunity they might have of avenging their wrongs, and ridding their country of a man whom they looked upon as a tyrant. In a class so large as the nobility of Sweden, there could not but be many who would be

ready to undertake the most hazardous enterprise. Yet they had been so crushed by Gustaf, that they despaired of any advantage by open measures, and a few, who had probably been galled by private injuries, determined, since they could not subdue, to assassinate him. The moral character of the king was generally allowed to be of the worst kind; his neglect of his wife, who was an amiable princess, and his licentious habits, had diverted from him the affections and respect of many who were admirers of his great talents; and his lavish waste of the public money was most severely felt in so poor a country as Sweden. Under such circumstances, about ten persons, the greater part nobles, came to the resolution of taking the first opportunity of murdering him.

The conspirators, among whom were some in the constant habit of attending on the king, formed many projects to effect their design, and made several attempts without success.

That some blow was about to be struck, was generally suspected; and the king received more than one anonymous hint, to beware of the impending danger. He, however, was too brave to take notice of these communications, and declared that were he to listen to every idle rumour of plots, he should be afraid to drink even a glass of water.

Meanwhile, his enemies were preparing their plans, and one of their number, named Ankarstrom, offered to do the deed. He was a noble by birth, and had served in the guards till his twenty-fourth year, when he retired to his estate with the rank of captain in the army. He was, while there, accused of having spoken disparagingly of the king to the peasants. Though the charge was never fully brought home to him, he was confined for a time in the castle of Wisby, in the island of Gottland. At a later period, when Gustaf put an end to the power of the nobles, and forced them to assent, in the

“Riddarhus,” or Parliament-house, to his innovations, Ankarstrom was present; and, nothing daunted by the presence of the king, or of his grenadiers, he boldly addressed the assembly, and deprecated the violation of the constitution in no measured terms. It has been supposed that he had also private grounds of dislike, and jealousy has been placed among the number; but several circumstances connected with Gustaf’s character, would lead one to infer that that passion had no part in exciting his hatred to the king.

Whatever were the causes, his animosity was so great, that before his joining with the Counts Horn and Ribbing, and his other confederates, he had intended to murder the king. An attempt was made at Gefle, while the States were sitting, and another was planned for carrying him off near a noted tavern, called *Mon Bijou*, near “*Norr Tull*,” or the Northern Barrier, at the end of *Drottning-gatan*, when on his

way to Haga. Both failed, and the conspirators were obliged to defer their intentions till some new opportunity should offer.

An occasion presented itself but too soon : a masquerade was announced to be given at the Opera-house, and the king was expected to be there. Twice it was put off, through some cause or other ; but, at last, it was definitively settled that it should take place. While at supper on that evening, an anonymous letter was brought to Gustaf, containing the following words :

“Sire,—Deign to listen to the advice of a man who, not being attached to your service, nor solicitous of your favour, flatters not your crimes, but is still desirous of averting the danger with which you are threatened. Be assured that a plot is formed to assassinate you. Those who have entered into it are furious at having been foiled last week, by the ball being countermanded. They have resolved to execute their scheme this day. Remain at home, and avoid balls the remainder of the year—thus



the fanaticism of criminality will be allowed to evaporate.

“Do not endeavour to discover the author of this letter; the damnable project against your life is come to his knowledge by accident. Be assured, however, that he has no interest whatever in forewarning you of your intended fate.

“If your mercenary troops had made use of violence against the citizens of Gefle, the writer of this letter would have fought you sword in hand, but he detests assassination.”

When the king had cast his eyes over the letter, he turned pale; he looked undetermined how to act, and showed it to those who sat at table. Among the guests was his private secretary, Baron Bjelke, a man of an ancient family, formerly allied to the kings of Sweden, as one of his ancestors, Sumila Bjelke, was one of John III.'s wives. He easily recognised the hand of the writer; it was Colonel Pontus Lilljenhorn's. Though deeply implicated in the

plot, Bjelke had sufficient command over his countenance to exhibit no alarm. At the desire of the king, he took up the letter, and, having carefully read it, declared his belief that it had been written with the intention of intimidating him. Others, and among them Baron Essen, entreated the king to remain in the palace; but the words of the traitor had had their effect, and Gustaf, with a laugh, announced that he would still go.

Baron Bjelke, having so far attained his object, hastened to apprise his friends of the king's determination. It had been previously concerted between him and his accomplices, that, if the king should go to the masquerade, Bjelke should send his watch to a certain jeweller's shop in Drottning-gatan to be repaired; if not, his snuffbox. When the messenger came with the fatal signal, Count Ribbing was waiting, and immediately left the place to warn his friends that their victim was about to fall into their hands. Bjelke, in the mean time, wen

home and procured a phial of poison, which he had ready, and concealed a lancet in the embroidery of his coat, and, after these preparations, accompanied the king to the theatre.

Gustaf delayed his entry so long, that the conspirators despaired of accomplishing their purpose that night. At last he entered, disguised in a domino, leaning on the arm of Baron Essen. Count Horn now accosted him, saying, "Good evening, fair mask," to point him out to Ankarstrom. The king then first perceived that he was pushed by the crowd, and the truth of the letter flashing on his mind, he attempted to retreat. It was too late; Ankarstrom was already close to him; and, to prevent any mistake, tapped him on the shoulder. Gustaf naturally turned to see who took that liberty, and while in the act of doing so, received the contents of a pistol in his loins. At the same moment a cry of fire was raised by those in the secret, and the hall became a scene of indescribable confusion.

Though the pistol was loaded with seven rusty nails, besides two balls, and some small shot, the fall of the king was not instantaneous. The assassin had drawn a jagged knife, prepared for the purpose, and was going to plunge it in his heart, when Gustaf sunk on a bench. Ankarstrom having dropped the dagger and pistol on the ground, as well as a second which he had intended for himself, retreated unobserved among the crowd.

As soon as he could be heard, Gustaf called out that the doors should be locked, and that nobody should be allowed to depart before he was searched, and had given his name. He also gave orders that the gates of Stockholm should be secured for three days. All the guests submitted to the search, and Ankarstrom happened to be the last to write down his name. The king was then borne off to the palace on a litter, writhing in such intense agony, that his bearers were obliged to halt on entering the hall. Though the perspiration ran down his

face, he did not utter a groan ; he merely asked if Ankarstrom was among the company at the theatre, and on being told he was, said, "My mind forebodes that that man is my murderer." The pistol and dagger were found on the ground, and the next day exposed to public view, when they were both identified by a gunsmith and cutler of Stockholm, as having been the one made, and the other repaired, by them for Ankarstrom.

The latter, upon leaving the theatre had returned home, and after saying his prayers, retired to rest. In the morning, when the officers of justice went to arrest him, he came forward and surrendered himself, acknowledging that he had committed the deed, and that though he was aware of the enormity of the crime, he had undertaken it for the good of his country. When brought before General Armfelt, the detested favourite of the king, who had led him into the evil courses that reflected so much disgrace upon Gustaf's character, Ankarstrom

looked scornfully at the man, and, upon his threatening him with the greatest tortures if he refused to declare his accomplices, said slowly, and in a tone of ineffable contempt, "Presume not to expect, audacious criminal, that I will obey! You are, yourself, mainly the cause of what has happened." He appeared a kind of enthusiast, and, during the time he remained in prison, often declared his regret that he had subjected the king to such protracted suffering; and excused the cruel mode in which he had loaded the pistol, by saying that the death of the king was of such consequence as to require his taking any means to make sure of it.

Gustaf, laid on his side, suffered the most agonizing torments without flinching. At one time he had hopes that he might still recover; but the rusty nails which had entered his body brought on mortification, and the certainty of his fate was announced to him. It was clear he had buoyed himself up till that moment; for a visible change took place in his manner,

and he begged his physician, with tears in his eyes, to protract his life, were it only for three days. When the first shock had passed, he returned to his former state of mind, and feeling that there was no time to be lost, called his brother Charles to his bed, and appointed him regent during the minority of his son, whom he fixed upon for his successor. This precaution was not without reason, for doubts had been thrown on the legitimacy of his son, and the Duke of Södremanland might have claimed the throne as next heir at a moment of such public agitation.

The greatest trial remained, Gustaf had evidently dreaded it; for it was only when the hand of death was upon him, that he summoned up the courage to take leave of his injured wife; and Charles had only time to lead her from his bedside, when the death-rattle was heard, and Gustaf was relieved from his agony.

In the mean time, Ankarstrom was calmly

awaiting the dreadful punishment of his crime. He frequently expressed sorrow at having caused so much pain to the king, and when the guns announced the accession of Gustaf IV., Adolph, he declared himself relieved by the king's sufferings being at an end. Though strictly guarded, Baron Bjelke had found means to send him the lancet that he had concealed under his cuff. Ankarstrom, however, had determined to brave the worst, and gave it up to his keeper, declaring that he would not add suicide to his other offences.

Though he at first denied having any accomplices, he was afterwards induced to confess that several persons were privy to his intentions. Nine of them were in consequence arrested; but three defeated the law by taking away their lives themselves. Bjelke took the poison he had carried with him to the opera, and died raving in the presence of Armfelt, before whom he was brought to be examined. Count Horn hanged himself in prison, and a third followed



Bjelke's example. The lives of the remainder were spared, at Gustaf's dying request to his brother Charles. It was with difficulty that he was persuaded to make an exception in the case even of the murderer himself. Some were deprived of their rank, and banished for life, and others were imprisoned for a few years.

Among the sentences passed upon these culprits, there is one which sounds rather strange to English ears. It is "that Major-general Baron Pechlin be imprisoned during pleasure, till he is brought to confess." It was at the house of this nobleman that the meetings of the conspirators had taken place; but he had throughout denied any knowledge of their purpose. It was therefore thought necessary to bring him to a confession of the fact; and, by way of hastening it, he was subjected to the severest confinement that could be devised. He was a very old man, and particularly fond of smoking. He was accordingly debarred from the use of tobacco, and kept continually awake.

Once he succeeded in defeating the intention of his keepers, and, sending for the officer of the guard, desired him to bring him paper, as he wished to write a confession. At the same time he expressed a wish to enjoy a smoke, and said, that unless he was allowed this indulgence he should not feel equal to the task that he had imposed upon himself. The officer answered that it was against his orders, but as the confession was a very desirable object, he would take upon himself the responsibility of breaking them. He then provided his prisoner with what was necessary, and the baron, after consuming a vast quantity of tobacco and paper, handed to him what appeared a most voluminous confession. The document was forwarded to Stockholm, but when opened, presented, to the astonishment of the readers, an elaborate treatise on the prisoner's favourite weed, entering into every detail of its history and introduction. Little was to be expected from so contumacious an individual, and, after three

years, he was released from confinement, and left, "to the punishment of God and his own conscience." He retired to Denmark, and lived there till past eighty years of age, externally at least little affected by his sentence.

There is a curious circumstance connected with another of the parties implicated. After receiving his wound, Gustaf mentioned Count Ribbing as being in the conspiracy, before any of the accomplices were known. The following reason was at the time given for his suspicions: There was in Stockholm an old woman, named Arfvedson, who lived by telling fortunes, and who had gained such a reputation, that the queen, Sophia Magdalene, sent for her. The hag sent back word that her power was local, and that she could not prophesy abroad; probably wishing to try the queen's belief. She was not disappointed; for the queen came to her *incognita*. It is said that Gustaf also visited her; in answer to some question, she told him to beware of a man he should find

on returning home, with a drawn weapon. On entering the palace, the king heard somebody in the dark near his apartment, and rushing forward, felt that he had a drawn sword under his cloak. He asked the stranger who he was, and what business he had with arms near his room. The intruder answered that he was Count Ribbing, and that he had been going to some lady, and on such occasions always held himself ready to defend himself. Gustaf, at the time, did not like the explanation, but Count Ribbing, muttering some excuse, bowed and retired.

Ankarstrom alone was reserved for the extreme punishment of the law, which, on this occasion, armed itself with unnecessary cruelty. A scaffold was erected opposite the Riddarhus, in the square, in which stands the statue of Gustaf Wasa. Upon it were exhibited the pistol and dagger used at the masquerade, with the words "John Jacob Ankarstrom, the king's murderer." Here he was exposed to public view for two

hours, confined by a collar to a chain, after which he underwent the punishment called "spö," or rods. Forty pair of these is considered in Sweden a capital punishment; and for three following days, the utmost number was inflicted on him in different squares. On the third, he was so exhausted with pain, that at the conclusion he was more dead than alive. His right hand was then cut off by a scavenger, to increase the disgrace of the punishment, and his head was severed from his body, which was quartered, and the parts laid on wheels, elevated on posts, at the place of execution. Conspicuous above the rest, his head was planted on a pole, with the hand beneath it. The very day after, a paper was found attached to it, with these words: "Blessed be the hand that saved its father-land."

Such was the miserable end of this regicide, who seems to have been actuated to the commission of this crime, more through the mistaken notion of saving his country than any

private impulse. During his confinement in prison, he showed a gentleness and solemnity that operated powerfully upon all who saw him; when excited, he spoke in a language resembling that used in Scripture, and must rather be looked upon as a fanatic than a cold-blooded assassin. The wrongs inflicted on Sweden by the extravagance of the king, and the violation of the constitution, made him look upon Gustaf as a declared enemy to his country, and in his confession he says, "I thought it best to risk my life for the public good, and I determined rather to die than live a miserable life, and see my native country daily threatened with new misfortunes by an unrighteous despot, who thought only of himself."

While I was in Stockholm, there lodged in the same house as myself, an austere-looking man, whom I met frequently on the stairs, but who always turned aside, and seemed to avoid communion with any one. I was afterwards told that this man was the son of Ankarstrom; but did

not bear his name. He lived in Finland ; and merely came occasionally to Sweden, which, after his father's unhappy fate, must be scarce bearable to him.

For many years after the death of Gustaf, no masquerade was allowed in Stockholm ; latterly they have been occasionally given at the Opera-house ; but, I believe, none of the royal family ever attend them. There is in them but little attraction, the men going unmasked, and the female part of the company, being rarely composed of any thing much above servant-girls. During my stay at Stockholm I was frequently at the theatre, but found little there to admire, either in the acting or the pieces. The latter were for the most part French, and sometimes German translations ; and I do not recollect a single original Swedish drama. On one occasion, I sat out a tragedy of six acts. The title it bore, of Gustaf Adolph in Munich, would alone have induced the audience so far to tax their patience.

The best play I saw was Hamlet, and even that seemed not agreeable to the multitude. The house was not as full as usual, and, I thought, more sleepy. The tragedy has been shorn of many of its beauties in the translation, and the whole of the scene in the churchyard has been omitted. The part of Hamlet, was creditably filled by the best actor, Armloff. The rest of the characters, with the exception of Ophelia, were often ludicrous. The fair Ophelia, was represented by Mademoiselle Höquist, who has the reputation of being the first actress in Sweden, and who had added an additional feather to her cap, by a visit to Paris.

A great part of her fame, I fear, is owing to her very pretty face, which undoubtedly surpasses in beauty those of her fellow-actresses; and those manners which she had acquired in France, and which it was very easy to detect, in my humble opinion did injury rather than good to her acting. The general defect of all the



performers of Stockholm is a want of liveliness of soul. Every vaudeville goes off like lead, and the smartest French dialogue is repeated like a dull lesson by schoolboys. Mademoiselle Höquist in this respect surpasses the rest, but is still faulty. She sometimes is equal to some of our third-rate actresses ; but a thin voice, a disagreeable scraggy figure, and a bad manner of addressing her remarks, rather to the audience than to those she was supposed to speak to, are errors which she will find it difficult to overcome, and will prevent her from ever being much admired on any stage but that of Stockholm.

The orchestra is better composed than the company ; and, considering the size of the house, which is as large as the Lyceum, the musicians are numerous. The theatre, still being in a manner royal property, is under the management of three directors, all military men, and little encouragement seems to be given to native talent. The history of Sweden, the

reigns of the four Gustavi, Eric XIV., and others of their kings, all present subjects enough for the dramatist; and it is lamentable that a nation possessing such opportunities of producing original pieces, should so long remain content with French translation and Italian song.

CHAPTER VI.

---

Sigtuna—Upsala—The cathedral—The palace—The murder of the Stures.

AMONGST the numerous fiords that branch off from the main body of the lake Mælare, there is one that takes a northern direction, and, by a river that runs into it, communicates with the University of Upsala. It is equal in beauty to the other parts of that noble lake, presenting every variety of breadth ; at one time expanding into an extensive sheet, and at another confining itself between heights that are wooded to the water's edge. At Stæke, which answers to the latter description of scenery,

formerly stood the castle of the turbulent Archbishop Trolle, last catholic prelate in Sweden. It will give a sufficient insight into this man's character to mention, that he pertinaciously seconded Christiern the tyrant, and passed his life in endeavouring to establish the Danes in the government of his country. In this fastness he maintained a factious opposition, till obliged to yield to the superior influence and arms of Gustaf Wasa.

Some miles further north a few houses, built irregularly along the border of the fiord, present all that now remains of the city of Sigtuna, the original capital of Sweden. Some historians, who love remote dates, pretend that it was founded by Siggo, a king who lived in the same age as Semiramis. Time has not been more sparing here than at Babylon, and aided by the Russians, who burnt it six or seven hundred years ago, has laid low for ever the pride of Sigtuna. A ruinous old tower or two is all that now remains, and so insignificant is it in other

matters, that a pair of horses could not be procured, and I had to wait three hours before they could be fetched from a farm-house, four miles distant.

After its destruction, it was succeeded in its metropolitan honours by Old Upsala, which in its turn has fallen back into its original insignificance. It was here that the great heathen temple of Thor stood in ancient times.

The spot upon which the present town of Upsala has been built, and the country to the south of it as far as Flottsund, was formerly covered with water. The borders of the Mælare are generally allowed to have receded; but there is some difference of opinion as to the cause of this change. Some attribute it to the dyke cut by Olaf the Holy, of Norway, at the Söder Sluss of Stockholm, by which it discharges itself into the Baltic; others suppose that the springs have been partially dried up, and left the loftier parts of the shores bare.

Upsala was originally called Ostra Aras,

which name still survives in Westeras, the final syllable being pronounced "rose" in both. In the middle of the thirteenth century the See was removed to the new town, and the old church stripped of its ornaments, both Heathen and Christian. Like most buildings in Sweden, it has suffered much from fire ; three times it has been entirely destroyed by the flames. The present church is, with the exception of that at Lund, the finest in the country. It is a vast Gothic pile in brick, ornamented with two towers. The interior is plain, rather disfigured with whitewash, but contains some good monuments. Not a few of the latter bear evidence of the flames, but fortunately those of the most distinguished men have remained unhurt.

The first that the stranger's eye naturally looks for, is that of Linnæus. It is an upright one of variegated marble, with a medallion bearing his likeness. Beneath it a simple inscription has been placed, that suffices for one whose fame is universal. The other tombs bear

chiefly historical names. By the side of the high altar rest the bones of St. Eric, tutelary saint and king of Sweden, who was murdered in the eleventh century by a Danish prince. They were removed in 1273 to Upsala church, which was then of wood, and are preserved in an exquisite shrine of silver, in the form of a church.

The principal monument, however, is in the chapel behind the high altar, commonly called, in catholic churches, the Holy Virgin's chapel. It contains the remains of Gustaf Wasa. In the centre lies the marble effigy of the great king, on a sarcophagus, between his two first queens. He is represented in armour, with a flowing beard. The walls around have lately been painted in fresco by Professor Sandberg. The subjects have appropriately been selected from Gustaf's acts, before and after ascending the throne. The two principal pieces represent his triumphal entry into Stockholm, after the final expulsion of the Danes, and his last sitting in the Diet. The valedictory speech that he de-

livered on that occasion, is painted in letters of gold beneath.

The other pictures are on a smaller scale, and cover the space under the windows at the extremity of the chapel. There was one still unfinished when I was last there; the artist not being able to continue his labours in the winter. They comprehend the more eventful parts of his career: His introduction, by Baner, to the senators of Lubeck, from whom he implored assistance for his intended hostilities against the Danes. His flight into the Dalar, where he worked in the mines, disguised as a peasant. In this picture the young chief is painted in the costume of the Dahl people, standing by the door of a barn with a flail in his hand. A Danish spy, who has traced Gustaf to the neighbourhood, is questioning a "Dahlkulla," or girl, as they are called, from the cap they wear. The woman is trying to give her countryman time to escape, by engaging the attention of the spy. The anxiety she seems



to conceal with difficulty, is well contrasted with the searching glances of her questioner.

In the next picture, Gustaf has thrown off his incognito. He is haranguing the assembled Dalecarlians at the church of Mora. Still in the costume of the district, wrapped in the same coarse white coat, he is distinguished by his superior looks, and the animation that diffuses itself from his countenance into those of his listeners. It must have been a proud moment for him—prouder even than that of his triumph, when, from a solitary fugitive, he found himself surrounded by men hardy as the rocks upon which they were reared, and whose fidelity has never been sullied. Backed by such men, and embarked in a just cause, he could not doubt of being eventually successful.

The last picture records the adoption of the Swedish translation of the bible. Two Lutheran ministers are presenting a volume to the king, who is accompanied by his son, afterwards Eric the Fourteenth, of whom this cathedral

contains far different memorials. The effect of the pictures, which are all very animated, is in some measure hurt by the bright azure colour of the wall.

In different parts of the church, not appropriated to worship, various curiosities are kept. Among the most remarkable, and certainly the most ancient, is the northern idol, Thor, carved in wood. This statue formerly stood in the Heathen temple at Upsala the Elder; when the See was changed, Thor followed in the train. His wooden figure has suffered considerably since his deposition. His left shoulder has almost disappeared under the knives of virtuosi. At present, the "bearer of the hammer," raised aloft on a bracket, far out of the reach of sacrilegious hands, need no longer fear for the part of his person that remains after the lapse of two thousand years. The idol is the rude representation of the bust and trunk of an old man, rather less than the size of life.

The crowns and sceptres of John III. and his

Polish wife, which were buried with them, have been taken up; but I understand are to be restored to their tombs. The cruel murderer of his brother enjoys, next to his father Gustaf, the handsomest monument in the church; but there is something in the countenance of his statue, which was no doubt a good likeness, that is very revolting. With the golden crowns are also many jewelled chalices, and a box of gold for holding the indulgences that were sent for sale from Rome.

A dark dungeon-like room, approached by a narrow steep staircase, is crowded with copes and crosiers of prelates. A large whetstone, sent to Margaret, the Semiramis of the north, by Albrecht, when she threatened to invade his kingdom, with a recommendation to remain at home and sharpen her needles, exemplifies the folly of boasting; and he must have felt the absurdity of his insult sharply enough, when expelled from Sweden. Some ornaments and part of the dress of St. Bridget are also to be

seen ; but by far the most interesting remnants of antiquity are the clothes worn by the two Stures, who fell a sacrifice to Eric XIV.'s madness, for it can bear no other name, in the castle of Upsala. The story that relates to them is so striking that its interest will excuse its length.

The Stures were the most distinguished family in Sweden ; during the time of Christiern I. and II., they had governed Sweden with kingly power as administrators. Unfortunately their descendants, in an evil hour, became suspected by Eric, and, driven on by his evil advisers, he totally destroyed a family to which, next to his own, Sweden owes the greatest gratitude. The particulars of this tragic event I have taken from a short account in the Swedish language, which relates the facts without any comment whatever on the conduct of the king.

In the summer of 1567 Eric caused Count Suante Sture, Eric Sture, Sten Baner, and two other noblemen, to be thrown into prison in the castle of Upsala, on suspicion that they had

conspired with Nils Sture, the Count's son, then in Germany, to create a rebellion at Kalmar, and dethrone the king. Shortly after, Nils himself returned home and was immediately arrested, and, by order of Joran Pehrson, the king's evil genius, the documents that he had brought from abroad with him were taken from him, and he was locked up in the same castle as the others of his house.

One Saturday afternoon Eric, accompanied by his guards, walked from the town to the castle outside. He then ordered the door of Nils's dungeon to be thrown open, and, having entered, he called him a traitor and villain. Becoming excited, he with his own hand stabbed the prisoner in the breast with a dagger, which the other drew out himself, and having kissed it, bloody as it was, returned it to his assassin. The king did not allow himself to be softened by this submission, but rushed on his victim and despatched him with repeated blows. It seems that his fury was now over for the moment.

He ran to Count Sture's room, and, falling on his knees, begged forgiveness for his having put him into prison unjustly; he then went to each of the other prisoners, and assured them of his favour.

As he was leaving the castle and crossing the bridge, the Stathallare, Joran Pehrson's brother, and the bishop of Kalmar met him. Eric at once told them what had happened, and how he had just murdered Nils Sture. "Your majesty should have killed them all," remarked one of the new comers, "for this will never be pardoned by the survivors." The king said he thought it probably would be so. Then, turning round to the provost that followed him, "Go," said he, "and have them all despatched except Sten." Two guards were at once sent to murder the old man, who, when he heard his doom, only begged to be left to bleed on his bed. The other guards, however, finding repeated blows of a halbert too slow in their work, cut his throat with a sword.

In the mean time the same scene was being

acted with the others. Eric had desired Sten to be spared, but had not designated which, for there were two of that name confined, yet none dared question him, so Sten Baner was put to death, and Sten Ericson had a respite. Not a long one, however, for the following year he was killed by a soldier in the streets of Stockholm. Thus, in one hour, was the name of Sture, so illustrious in Sweden, blotted out for ever through the frenzy of a maniac.

Eric seems to have been instigated to the first outrage by anger, to the second by fear, a quality never attributed to any of his family. He was now quite overpowered by the demon in him. Turning from the town, he bent his way over the fields, towards the woods. Two persons, the one a Frenchman and the other a noble, named Dionysius, whom also he acquainted with what he had done, tried to persuade him to return and make some excuse to the people. They were not noticed; but, as he found that Dionysius still followed him, he

seized a pike from a soldier to kill him. The other retreated as quickly as he could over a fence, and Eric desired one of his guards to pursue and despatch him. In the chase Dionysius was cut over the leg, which was nearly severed in two. Still he fled; till, falling, his antagonist came up and cut his throat. The body lay there for three days, when it was placed by the side of the others in the castle, all in their bloody garments.

Next day Eric came privately to Stockholm, and ordered that Sten Ericson and some others should be informed of the murder. He at the same time begged their friendship, and made them promise not to revenge, either by themselves or by the means of others, this untoward act. He also made them give a written assent to his marriage with Karin Mansdattir, and a recognition of her son, if she should ever have one, as heir to the Swedish crown. This lady was the daughter of a guardsman; she was yet a little girl, selling nuts at one of the gates of



the palace of Stockholm, when Eric saw her and was struck with her beauty ; he had her brought up with his sister, and when he found that neither Queen Elizabeth, nor the other princesses whom he asked in marriage, would listen to his proposals, he married her.

It is but justice to her to say, that no queen ever behaved better than she ; and that her influence over the gloomy character of her husband many a time diverted his fits of madness, and restored his serenity of mind. Her power over him was such, that, according to the custom of the middle ages, she was supposed to have gained her ascendancy through sorcery. Joran Pehrson took advantage of the belief, and tried to ruin her in the opinion of the king, but he was too well acquainted with her virtues to listen to the accusation of the wretch ; and Karin lived to be Eric's only consolation in the lowest depths of misfortune that a king can be plunged into.

When not under temporary derangement, Eric

appears to have been an amiable man. His talents were of the highest order; he was passionately fond of music, a good scholar and logician, and of his knowledge of painting there still remain many proofs; among others, his own portrait, by himself, at Gripsholm, sent with the offer of his hand to a German princess. I should hardly think that he had flattered himself; for the pictures by other painters give a more favourable notion of his face than his own handiwork. His beard approaches nearest to what Bottom, the weaver, would call straw-coloured. His crimes were great; but their deepest shades fade when placed by the side of his merciless brother John, who had not even madness to palliate his cruelty.

Eric being reconciled to the relatives of his victims, their bodies were buried in one grave; and, after the funeral oration, which was inaudible through the sobs of those present, a herald came forward, and read a letter from the king,

absolving the deceased from all disgrace, and attributing their death to his hastiness.

The clothes of the father and son are hung in a glass case, and exhibit numerous triangular holes. The person who accompanied me said, that each had received eight stabs. On their shirts there are dark patches round the punctures that mark where the blood flowed. In the hatband of the younger one there is still a glove fastened, as a favour from a lady. The castle, the scene of the above murder, is on a hill, opposite the church. It is insignificant in its present state, but the walls and arches in ruins around it exhibit great strength.

## CHAPTER VII.

---

Departure from Stockholm—Party at Gefle—Dalerna  
—Escape of Gustaf Wasa from Ornas—Falhun—The  
copper-mine—Swedish paper, and copper money.

IN the middle of December, the winter that had been rather slow in coming, began to give signs that it had not altogether forgotten Sweden. Little snow had fallen, and, in the neighbourhood of the capital, sledging had not yet commenced. About this time an Englishman, Mr. D., arrived at Stockholm, from a tour he had taken to Tobolsk. Having accidentally

heard from a friend of mine, who had travelled with him from the west of Sweden, that he intended to take a journey through Lapland, I eagerly seized the opportunity of accompanying him. I found that the inquiries he had made as to the mode and proper time for crossing from Tornea to the Frozen Ocean, had elicited but very little information from the Swedes, and even what he had been told, we afterwards discovered was, in great measure, incorrect. Indeed, in Stockholm, and even several hundred miles north of it, nothing whatever was known about the country beyond Tornea. Occasionally persons travel as far as Tornea, to see the sun at twelve o'clock on Midsummer nights, but beyond that point, the country is a perfect *terra incognita*. Under such circumstances, it was by no means easy to decide when to start. My companion had been told that the end of February would be the best time for leaving Tornea, as at that time a market would be held there, and many of the merchants would return

to Finmark. Much diversity of opinion also prevailed as to the length of time required for crossing from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Frózen Ocean; some asserting that the journey could not be accomplished in less than a month, and others shortening the duration to eight days. At last we determined on starting at once, and meeting the snow on the way.

We accordingly left Stockholm one fine frosty morning, and in the afternoon found ourselves at Upsala. A couple of days were more than sufficient to see every thing worth examination in the university. Besides the cathedral and palace, the library is the only prominent object; and that, a mere stone building on the hill between the two former edifices, would make little figure, except in a wooden town built with the regular quadrangular uniformity that prevails in Sweden. The students, who amount, I was told, to about two thousand, though not exactly Oxonians in appearance, exhibit none of the extravagance of the Ger-

man universities, and, except for an occasional song hummed in the street, a stranger would never suspect that he was in the first university in Sweden. While remaining here, we heard that sledging had begun thirty miles to the northward, and we accordingly determined on leaving a little carriage of mine, in which we had come, and using the peasants' carts till we should meet with sufficient snow to change our conveyance. Unluckily a change of weather came on, attended with rain, and as our furs proved but bad protectors against drenching, and Mr. D. had an attack of asthma, we were obliged to stop the first day at a place called Yfre, scarce forty miles from Upsala. The post-house at this place happened to be the worst I met with in Sweden, and the good people seemed aware of it, for they expressed astonishment when they heard us determine on staying there the night. They, however, did every thing in their power to make us comfortable, and attempted to make up for other deficiencies

by enlivening us with their conversation. Notwithstanding all their endeavours, the place was so disagreeable and dirty, that we, the next day, determined rather to face the storm than remain there a second day.

In the evening we passed the falls of Elfkarby proceeding from the river Dahl, which runs into the Gulf of Bothnia, a little below them. They are amongst the finest in Sweden, and bear a remote resemblance in form, though not in size, to those of Niagara, owing to an island that divides them. A very light and bold bridge has been thrown across the rapids below, which separate Upland from Gæstrikland. Another storm forced us to stop here, and spend the night in drying our drenched clothes, in a post-house very little better than the last. In most cases, the building reserved for the accommodation of strangers in inns is detached from that occupied by the family, and the greatest difficulty is found in calling the



attendant, as a bell is as yet unknown in a Swedish tavern.

A couple of chairs and a kind of sofa, contrived to be made into a most diminutive bed, is the extent of what one may expect in a place of the sort.

Our progress had as yet been so unsatisfactory, that we began to regret having left Stockholm so early in the season, when a strong north wind arose, and made the thermometer fall to eighteen degrees of cold (Reaumur). The scene at once changed; the asthma was forgotten, the rain turned to snow, and, with renovated spirits, we commenced sledging; and gliding through forests, that appeared the work of fairies, we entered Gefle.

This is the fourth town in Sweden, and contains above eight thousand inhabitants. It is a very busy place while the sea is open, and it is said to own more shipping than even Stockholm. The prosperity of its commerce is visi-

ble in its granite bridges and quays, and other public buildings. At the present time, most of its shipping was away; yet the monotony of the frozen river was broken by several large vessels lying in it. This port carries on considerable trade with England, and also with the Americans, whose style of ship-building they particularly affect to imitate.

A merchant, with whom I had travelled from Kiel to Copenhagen, had desired me to call on him, in case I passed through Gefle. He was the son of a clergyman in Lapland, and was born in Kallisovando, the most remote "pastorat" in Sweden. I was therefore glad to avail myself of his invitation, as he not only gave me much information respecting his own country, but provided me also with letters to several of his relatives, who fill both civil and ecclesiastical offices in that quarter.

In the evening he introduced my friend and myself to a party given by another merchant. The company consisted almost entirely of men;

I noticed only two or three ladies besides the hostess, and these appeared to belong to the family. After taking a cup of tea the gentlemen sat down to half a dozen card-tables, and the ladies disappeared till eleven o'clock, when a most substantial supper was served. As my companion did not understand a word of Swedish, and I did not play, we sat down at the same table, he to whist, and I to make conversation and interpret. Little time, however, was given up to talking; the attention was entirely devoted to the game; pipes and occasional glasses of punch were alone permitted to interfere. Before sitting down to supper each guest was invited to a side-table, where, according to custom, brandy, anchovies, and preserves were taken by way of a whet. During supper there was much touching of glasses, and at the conclusion every one drew his chair to the wall, and bowed to each of the company. In this respect the custom does not go so far as in Norway, where it requires each in-

dividual to shake hands with the rest at the end of the meal.

After this ceremony a general disposition to go away manifested itself, and thanks having been returned to the lady of the house, and exchanged between the guests for "got selskap," or good company, the rooms were empty in a few minutes. It is also usual to say "tak for sist" (thanks for last time), the first time one meets a person after partaking of his hospitality.

The next morning we left Gefle and shaped our course to the westward, with the intention of seeing Falhun, the chief town of Dalecarlia. This province, called in Swedish "Dalerna," or the valleys, is more than twice the size of Yorkshire, and extends from the borders of Gæstrikland to Norway. It abounds in lakes and rivers, of which the Dahl Elf is the principal. Though the inhabitants yield to none of their countrymen in industry, the agricultural produce of the whole tract never meets the demand, and a large portion of the population are obliged to leave their homes for a part of the year and

seek employment elsewhere. The expense of carriage adds so much to the difficulty of procuring rye bread, that in the remote parts the peasants are almost every year obliged to mix the tender bark of pines with the meal to satisfy the cravings of hunger. In the northern part, called Elfdal, where distress is the most prevalent, the quarry of Blidberg, and other smaller ones, have caused the establishment of a factory for working porphyry. It has produced many splendid specimens of art, among which may be numbered the vase, placed behind the royal summer residence, called Rosendal in Djur Garden, but it is only at the king's expense, who is the proprietor of it and a considerable loser, that it is kept in activity.

Though the soil is bad, and the climate unfavourable to agriculture, game is abundant, and vast quantities of that fine bird the cock of the woods (tjæder), and black cock (orra) are exported to Stockholm during the autumn and winter. Round Falhun the mines give some

employment, and collect the people somewhat closer ; over the rest of the province they are dispersed in mere villages, not a town presenting itself between that place and Östersund. A vast extent is covered with forests and lakes, and the population of the whole does not amount to twelve to the square mile. Yet, though labouring under these disadvantages, there is no part of the Swedish nation who are so much looked up to by their countrymen as the Dalecarlians. Their honesty and frankness of character are proverbial, and their industry is sure to gain them a preference wherever they offer themselves for work. Mixing as they do with the people of the capital, it would not be wonderful if in the number a few were unable to resist temptation and get into trouble ; yet the exception is so very rare, that I was told in Stockholm as a singular fact, that, during the winter, a Delecarlian labourer had been committed to prison for theft.

After two days' journey over frozen lakes,

which considerably shortened the distance, we arrived at Falhun. The town is built between two lakes, over one of which we drove the last fourteen miles. Little or no snow had fallen as yet in the neighbourhood, and one stage was so bare that we were obliged to make use of carts. The town itself presents nothing worth notice; it is built of wood; the houses, all painted red, present a peculiar gloomy appearance, which was at the time increased by the darkness of the weather. We were told that the population amounted to between four and five thousand, which, for a Swedish town, is considered no mean figure; I doubt whether, during the three days we were there, we saw a hundred persons altogether.

At no great distance, near the lake Runn, is a house which has become remarkable from one of the events of Gustaf Wasa's life. The owner of Ornces, at that period, was one Arendt Pehrson, whose name is infamous in Swedish history. After the massacre of the nobles in

Stockholm, Gustaf was obliged to fly and seek security in Dalecarlia, where the tyrant Christiern had not such power as over the rest of the country. Wandering about perfectly friendless, he imagined that the time was come when a blow might be struck, which would expel the oppressors of his country. A few brave men to assist him in putting his plans into execution, was all that seemed necessary. But where was he to turn to? He was himself proscribed, the country filled with spies, and such an awe had been struck into the minds of the people by the ferocity of Christiern, that for a time the Swedes seemed to have given up all hopes of recovering their liberty. He considered these difficulties, and, having come to the determination that every thing must be risked, he approached Orncæs and begged to be allowed a private interview with the owner. Pehrson, though he had been at the University of Upsala with Gustaf, was unable to recognise him in his disguise of a peasant. He at once observed



that his manners and dress did not agree, but could not recollect the face of the stranger. Gustaf declared himself, informed him of the murder of his father and brother-in-law, told him a price was put on his own head, and asked for his aid in saving his country. Pehrson pretended to approve of Gustaf's plans, begged of him to retire to rest, and said he would consider the matter. Far, however, was it from his intention to assist him ; the price put upon his guest's head awakened at once his ambition and his avarice. He hurried off to his neighbour, Mans Nilsson, and discovered to him the prey that had fallen into his hands, the advantages he might derive from it, and the use he purposed to make of his good fortune. He happened, however, not to be the wretch that Pehrson took him for : he expressed his abhorrence at the intended breach of hospitality, and conjured him to think no more of such a damning act.

Brun Bengtsson, his wife's nephew, whom

he next consulted, was not so scrupulous; he agreed to accompany him with an armed force and assist in the capture of Gustaf. Fortunately for the deliverer of Sweden, these two men were vicious in more respects than one. Certain that their designs were not suspected, they spent the greater part of the night in carousing, and did not set out on their expedition till the morning. In the mean time the traitor's wife, Barbro Swinhufvud, had observed the eagerness of her husband to leave the house, and being well acquainted with his character, she suspected that he intended to take advantage of the defenceless state of the stranger. Though of a family devoted to the Danish interest, she took pity on him and determined to save Gustaf. By her order, a sledge was got ready and brought under the window of his room. She then discovered to him the risk he was incurring by remaining under her husband's roof, and advised him to shelter himself in the house of a priest whom she named, and whose probity

might be depended on. No time was to be lost, and Gustaf was preparing to descend the stairs, when Barbro, fearful lest he should be observed by some of the servants, lowered him out of the window into the sledge by a long towel, the use of which is still common among the peasants of the north of Sweden.

Gustaf was scarcely out of sight when his perfidious host, accompanied by his worthy nephew and twenty armed men, rushed into the room, but the bird had flown. Arendt exasperated at being foiled, and convinced that his wife had aided Gustaf, refused to live any longer with her.

The house where this escape took place is still preserved in its original condition. In some points it differs from the buildings of the present day; the upper floor projects beyond the ground one, and the passage, leading to the room where Gustaf rested, is exposed, and takes up the additional space allotted to the upper story. The room, the bed itself have been unaltered,

and to heighten the interest which they must create in the breast of a Swede, several objects of little value, but which have belonged to Gustaf, such as a brass watch, gauntlets, a matchlock, drinking-cups, have been placed in it; some rude statues of himself and his Dalecarlian guards have been added, and not the least interesting object is the portrait of his fair preserver.

The chief object that drew us from the north road into Dalecarlia was the desire of my fellow-traveller to descend into the great mine of Falhun. I had myself, some four years before, been over the interior, and therefore had no other inducement to revisit its damp and sulphureous recesses than to accompany my countryman, whose ignorance of the language would have made a solitary descent tedious and unsatisfactory. When we came to the mouth, we discovered that it would be necessary to descend by the staircases and ladders, as owing to the Christmas holydays sufficient ore was not ob-

tained to keep the buckets in constant work. The fatigue to be encountered by this mode of descent and return, deterred Mr. D. from persevering in his intention, and we accordingly left Falhun without more than a view of the exterior works. The mine is about a mile distant from the town, and immediately on passing the last house, the view that presents itself announces the antiquity of this excavation. Every trace of vegetation has been destroyed by the noxious vapours that arise from the copper-ore and the brimstone combined with it. The road to Leksand, which passes by the orifice, runs through vast masses of stone, the accumulation of many ages. To us, who had come newly into this atmosphere, the fumes of numberless piles of ore that were being calcined, were most distressing. The same appearance of solitude and desolation reigns throughout as in the Icelandic fields of lava; nothing is heard but the whistling of the wind and the occasional sound of a black stream from some of the

works. Even the birds avoid with horror the scene of so many terrors.

Unlike other mines, the mouth of that at Falhun is an immense abyss, called Stötten, at the bottom of which the opening of the shaft begins. This vast chasm is about forty fathoms deep, and one hundred in diameter. It was made by an awful falling in, which happened in 1687, when, owing to some neglect in springing a mine, the support of three different shafts gave way and left the present gap, which would suggest no bad idea of the entrance of the infernal regions. The unskilful manner in which the mine had been worked in remote ages, and the little support that had been left for the weight above, had always made an accident of the kind a probable event. Shortly before it happened, certain symptoms understood by experienced miners, had given notice that the crisis was near at hand, and the chief director of the works had ordered the excavation to be suspended. This cessation from work naturally

involved a suspension of wages, which the miners could but ill afford; and, accordingly, after two or three days had passed without accident, they determined to resume their occupations. The director still persisted in his refusal; the Dalecarlians, nothing daunted, broke into open mutiny, and assembled near the spot with their tools in their hands, determined to return to the mine. Fortunately, while preparing to do so, and before any of them had descended, the catastrophe took place, and showed how just were the predictions of their chief.

A few years ago, a recurrence of the same accident was expected, and the miners were summoned to leave the interior. Those of the present day appear to be as obstinate as their predecessors, for nothing less than smoking them out succeeded in dislodging them from their stronghold.

Four wooden staircases, built of the trunks of fir-trees, and projecting beyond the sides of

the chasm, admit of an easy but somewhat slippery descent. Before leaving the upper regions, the man who was to accompany me, provided himself with a quantity of thin laths, made of very resinous pine. These he turned into torches by confining a dozen together with rings. One of these being lighted, and two or three others taken as a reserve, we entered a small room that led to one of the descents. A continual dripping from the rocks above causes a pattering on the floor which is increased by numerous echoes. Half-way down two large halls have been excavated, in one of which Gustaf III. has left his autograph, and the date 1788 written in chalk and since cut out in the rock. On approaching the part where the people are at work, a curious effect is produced by the sound of their voices while singing. The men themselves are not visible, and the voices appear to proceed from the heaps of burning wood which serve to give them light,



and which the distance reduces to the size of stars. The dismal cry of the miner before he fires the train, re-echoed along the vaults till the last faint sound is drowned in the report of the explosion, makes also a most singular impression on those unaccustomed to dive below the surface of the earth.

Long before I had remained a sufficient time to see the machinery for raising the water and the different parts where the works were going on, my clothes were become uncomfortably wet by the fall of the impregnated water, and I gladly returned by the bucket. Five other men, whose duties led them to revisit the light, took advantage of the same conveyance. Throwing one leg into the tub, and leaving the other to dangle outside, they held on unconcernedly by the hand, singing a stave and waving their pine torches to keep them alight. After rising a while, the fires of the miners below became invisible, and nothing could be seen but the

projecting points of the shaft, which seemed to threaten destruction to our overladen bark. Gradually a little star above us increased into a circle of light, and after taking about five minutes and a half in the return, we found ourselves in the open air.

This ancient mine has been in former ages very productive ; during the last three centuries, a material decline has annually exhibited itself in its returns. During Gustaf Adolph the Great's reign, it yielded yearly about 2400 tons of copper ; since that time it has gradually decreased till the present moment, when it has been reduced to little more than a quarter of that quantity. All the copper money used in the country is coined in Dalecarlia, and, till lately, it was the only metallic currency in general use.

Within the last six or seven years, a new silver coinage has been issued ; but it is rarely met with except in the capital. The peasants,

accustomed to the ancient coarse paper notes, have not yet become sufficiently acquainted with the new pieces not to look upon them with distrust, and almost universally request to be paid in paper. The larger notes have also been improved of later years, but the small notes, from threepence to sixpence in value, are still printed on the same vile material. In remote provinces, where the people have but little communication with the Swedish National Bank, one generally receives in change the most filthy pieces of rag, connected together by pins, and so worn out as to be perfectly illegible. Each note very considerably announces at its foot that the imitator of it shall be hanged—a mode of punishment inflicted in Sweden only on forgery; all other capital crimes are visited with decapitation. The difficulties that the finances of the Swedes have fallen into, have at different times obliged them to have recourse to the baser metals in lieu of gold and silver. Charles XII.'s reign exhausted the

specie of the country, and a small coin, worth a runstek, or eighth of a farthing, was for a time raised to the nominal value of a silver dollar, four and sixpence, but, after a while, the coin fell to its real worth. Adolph Frederik found himself in similar difficulties, and issued tokens which remind one of the money in use among the Spartans. Dollars and half-dollars were coined in the form of a square, half an inch thick. A half dollar piece that I bought at Stockholm, is four inches square, and weighs half a pound. The four corners are stamped with the kings initials, and the value in silver is marked in the middle. The reverse is quite plain. These pieces are no longer in circulation, but are still occasionally to be picked up as curiosities.

Falhun, though not presenting a very lively exterior while we remained there, was not altogether devoid of public entertainments. A Norwegian company were in possession of the

theatre, and amused the Swedes with a mixture of their own and the audience's languages. The two tongues do not so far differ as to make a dialogue between these two people unintelligible; yet words, very proper in the one, are often ridiculous and even highly offensive in the other. A principal feature in the Swedish language is the use of the third person, and the constant repetition of the character or title of the person addressed. In Norway, on the contrary, there is not so much attention paid to outward form, and the word "di," which answers to our "you," is substituted. In Dalecarlia, the second person singular is almost universally made use of, and the word "ni," which answers to the Norwegian "di," is a term of contempt.

An attempt was now made by us to cross to Östersund over the lakes. This way is made much use of in winter, by traders, and is far shorter than by Sundsvall. After every inquiry,

we found that no one in the town could give a march route, and we were obliged to turn towards Södrehamn, where we should again fall into the great north road.

CHAPTER VIII.

---

Norrland—Change in the Gulf of Bothnia—Finnish sledge—Angermanland—West Bothnia—Sunnana—A funeral procession—Lyksele—Bear-hunting—Crossing the Gulf on the ice—Boxes at Lulea—Ranby.

A FEW miles south of Södrehamn, we entered the province of Norrland. We had heard before leaving the capital that we should find the peasantry improve as we advanced towards the north, and we had now sufficient evidence of the correctness of the information. The inns were far more comfortable and better provided; the general appearance of the people bespoke comparative ease; and the buildings

were fully equal if not superior to those in the south. It was easy, however, to see that they owed these advantages to industry; not a house that we entered but re-echoed with spinning-wheels and looms. Both in Helsingland and Angermanland the population employs much of its time in weaving linen cloths, some of which are tolerably fine. This, of course improves their circumstances materially, though from the prices at which their manufactures are sold, they must work early and late to derive much advantage from it.

They have in this part of Sweden a mode of drying their crops, not adopted, I believe, elsewhere. A frame, in the form of a colossal gate, furnished with numerous bars, and towering far above the tops of their houses, is attached to each farm. Upon this rack, the corn or flax is extended and wind-dried far more expeditiously than if subjected to the uncertain heat of the sun. In the interior also of the houses greater neatness and cleanliness are observable than in



other parts of the country, and some luxury is exhibited in the number of apartments into which each dwelling is divided.

Södrehamn, like most of the other wooden towns of Sweden, has suffered much from fire. The whole of the damage produced by the last occurrence of the kind has not yet been repaired, and a large space is still left bare in the middle of the town. On the whole, it is rather prettily situated, being overhung with craggy heights towards the sea; the shipping cannot come nearer than a mile and a half from it.

Little more can be said of Hudiksvall, the next place that follows, a town of the same calibre, with a couple of thousand inhabitants. Formerly, it was farther inland, but the retiring of the gulf of Bothnia had, in 1622, rendered Hudiksvall so inconveniently distant from the shore that Gustaf Adolph caused the town to be removed to its present situation. The same phenomenon is apparent along the whole western coast of the gulf. Old Lulea was also

once a seaport-town ; now it is three miles from the sea ; and Tornea, which was formerly an island, is now a peninsula. It has not yet been settled whether this is owing to the surface of the gulf gradually lowering, or to a rise in the whole of Sweden. Celsius, the inventor of the centigrade thermometer, leaned to the latter opinion, and, from information derived on the coast, was led to suppose that the amount of the rise was about forty-five inches in a century.

At Iggesund, near Hudiksvall, we had a specimen of the hardhihood of the peasantry. Coming in the middle of the night to the post-house, we met with some delay on account of the peasants, whose business it was to wait at the station, having taken themselves off, and wisely gone to bed. After half an hour's detention we began to show signs of impatience, and the girl of the inn, probably expecting to be blamed for the negligence of the men, ran out to fetch them, barefooted as she was, and with the rest of her person little better protected. The cold was

sufficiently keen to make itself uncomfortably felt through a fur pelisse, yet the damsel returned, after a scamper of half a mile over the snow without any symptoms of distress.

The sledges we met on the road proceeding to Stockholm were chiefly loaded with frozen game; woodgrouse, ptarmigans, and black game, are sent down in vast quantities to Stockholm as soon as the winter is sufficiently advanced to admit of their being packed up in a frozen state. The earliest come from Dalecarlia and the neighbouring country; later, the supply comes from Norrland and Jemtland. When I returned to Stockholm, in February, I found the game had disappeared south of Pitea, in the vicinity of which I met with large flights of grouse.

At Hudiksvall, I procured, at the small cost of thirty-six shillings, a kind of sledge, that I had been looking out for during the whole journey, and which I recommend to those who travel so far to the north. It is that in general

use in Finland, and is as convenient as the most luxurious carriage. Being narrow, it is not suited for more than one person, but is sufficiently long to admit of his lying in it at full length, and using it as a bed, if he be not inclined to try the comforts of the post-houses. The driver sits on the fore part, which is boarded over, and forms a box large enough to contain a moderate quantity of luggage. Throughout the north of Sweden, the form of the sledge varies every hundred miles, and the shape adopted in one part is unsuited to the style of country in another, but the Finnish sledge answers for hill or plain, and is rarely stopped by any depth of snow.

There was little to detain us in Sundsvall or Hernosand, though both are larger than the last places we had left. As my companion preferred moving along slower, I left him here, to meet me later at Tornea, and proceeded alone through Angermanland and West Bothnia.

Immediately after crossing the Angerman

river, which is about two miles wide in this part, I entered a very hilly country. It has been considered by many travellers that the scenery of this part of Sweden yields, in summer, to few in Europe. Hills clothed with wood succeed hills in rapid succession, and in the intervals between them the descents are most precipitous. Some mountain-stream generally gives occasion for a rude wooden bridge to be thrown across the valley, which gives no great notion of security. Across these we dashed through the snow, with a rapidity that, in summer, on wheels, would have been most dangerous.

The sledge bounded down the oblique road, receiving shocks that threatened to make it fly to pieces at every minute. Every turn brought a change of scenery, and, as I advanced to Afwa, the sea was visible, as yet unfrozen. The autumn had been unusually fine, and the cold weather, as I heard from the peasants who drove me, had come on far later than is usual.

During the night I entered West Bothnia, and through the whole extent of it to Tornea, met with scarcely a rise. It is a narrow strip of land that borders the gulf on the west as far as Tornea. Those vast and elevated regions between it and the boundary of Norway, are wholly uncultivated; they are the deserts in which the Laplanders of Asele, Umea, and Pitea, wander with their reindeer. Here, neither towns nor villages are to be met with; the soil is unfit for cultivation; swamps and rocks cover the surface, and as the traveller moves farther west, he meets those lofty mountains where vegetation ceases, and every vestige of animated nature having disappeared, the awful silence that reigns is only broken by the roar of the storm. Here rise those rapid rivers that give the names to the different Lapmarks and the Ranea and Kalix. These mountain torrents dash with mad rapidity down cataracts, that far surpass any other rivers in Europe, those of Norway ex-

cepted; the Lulea, in particular, is noted as being the most rapid stream in Scandinavia. In a few places on the confines of West Bothnia, some Finlanders are to be met with, little changed by their long sojourn in Sweden. The inhabitants, however, of West Bothnia are industrious, and not inferior to their southern neighbours in activity. The climate is certainly not favourable to agriculture; yet, though little grain is produced, the pastures are excellent, and enable the peasant to support a large quantity of horned cattle. A little to the south of the town of Umea, I crossed large meadows apparently overflowed, and covered with barns filled with hay.

The butter produced in this province is plentiful, and esteemed in the capital, which is chiefly supplied with this article from West Bothnia, as well as with firewood; shortly before the frost sets in, the quays of Stockholm are lined with large rude vessels of between one and two hundred tons burden, loaded with

birch-wood, that is carried down the great rivers, and shipped in the numerous little harbours that are to be found above the Quarken.

In Umea a sad falling off is visible from Sundsvall ; it is apparent that one is approaching Lapland. The whole town has a gloomy appearance, and the buildings exhibit a corresponding dinginess of colour. On the river there were building three or four small vessels ; the principal trade of the place is with the capital and other large towns south of it, but a few Norwegian ships also come here.

Another dreary journey of more than a hundred and seventy miles intervenes between this town and Pitea. In the midst of these wilds, where the sight of a wooden hut even is gratifying, the eye is suddenly delighted with the view of a beautiful building. It is difficult to explain the sensation produced by the church of Sunnana, after the eye has rested for days on the unvarying fir-trees and snow. A large white stone building, with four fronts orna-



mented with pillars, and a handsome dome, is an object that, in such a place, astonishes as well as pleases.

A few miles from it I met a cortege, which viewed from afar, I took at first for a wedding party; at least the pace at which it proceeded, would never have made me suppose that it was a funeral, had I not actually seen a coffin partially concealed by a pall, laid on the first sledge. About a dozen others followed at a gallop with the friends and relatives of the deceased, whose countenances exhibited no great quantum of grief. The women were lying at full length in the long narrow sledges, rolled up in blankets and cloths, like mummies, and the men who drove were seated on them; thus giving their female friends every chance of keeping warm. It is generally considered that hearses and mourning-coaches move rather rapidly on their return; I doubt whether any travel with the same speed as these did on the way to the church of Skelleftea.

Some fifty miles west of Umea, a fair is held at Lyksele, where Laplanders, Swedes, and Norwegians from the western side of the mountains, meet in great numbers. A brisk trade is carried on throughout West Bothnia in furs, particularly fox-skins which fetch high prices in Russia; an ordinary one costs from twelve to thirteen shillings, and some in Tornea are valued as high as a hundred roubles, if very dark. They are all much larger than the English fox, and naturally have a much thicker fur. As I approached the northern extremity of the Gulf, I rarely drove a stage without being asked to trade in furs by the masters of post-houses and peasants. None but red ones were offered me, though the blue, or rather iron-grey, and the white varieties are to be met with.

Bears are to be found in this quarter, but on the whole are not so destructive as they are generally supposed. In fact one large Bruin in a neighbourhood is not considered much

of a nuisance. A gentleman who lived some time at Lulea, informed me that while there, a very large one took up his quarters in the district, and was never molested by the peasants, who declared that he kept others of his species away, and that it was far better to be subject to one great marauder, whose appetite could be easily appeased, than to numberless smaller ones whose incursions would be daily felt. Accordingly, by a compact made among the farmers, the loss of each from this bear was made up by the rest. My informant one day met Bruin on the road, and giving him the path passed on one side of him without receiving any more notice than a deep growl, unattended with any symptom of hostility.

All bears, however, are not such favourites as this fortunate one ; they are too troublesome to the peasantry, carrying off horses and bullocks, to be long left in peace themselves where once they make their unwelcome presence known in a neighbourhood. A peasant ge-

nerally goes out in search of his trail, and having found it, moves in a ring some miles in circumference to make sure of having him within it. He then gradually contracts his circles till he comes to the retreat itself of the animal. Weeks are sometimes expended in this search; the peasantry are then summoned to a Skall by the Landshöfving, or governor of the province, and put under the direction of the Jagtmøestare, or ranger of the district, who marshals them and commands their movements. The peasants are generally formed into circles, and come armed with whatever weapons they can procure.

Though opposed singly to a whole host, the bear often spreads havoc among his assailants. Every ball that enters his huge carcass but adds fire to his fury; and woe to the individual whom his wrath has singled out! It ceases to be a mere pastime, and nothing but the greatest self-possession can save him from a miserable death. While at Hernosand I saw a represen-

tation of an event that took place at a Skall in the neighbourhood in 1831, and which shows that bear-hunting must be quite equal to tiger-hunting in excitement and peril. The bear on this occasion was very large; nothing like an American bear with which an Indian can grapple, but an enormous beast able to carry off a pony under his arm. His temper, probably never very good, had been ruffled by ten shots lodged in different parts of his body; all present retrenched themselves and awaited some desperate effort on his part, should not a lucky shot through the head speedily give him his quietus. At this moment, a man bolder than his companions advancing before them, the bear rushed upon him, tore his gun from his hands, and began to wound him with his tremendous claws. The wretched man was unable to contend with his muscular antagonist; already his wounds were letting out his life, when a young Norrlander, unable to look quietly on, rushed to his assistance. Besides the danger

which he himself incurred, and which of course he had no feeling of, there was some difficulty in shooting the bear without striking the man. As he advanced, the bear rose on his hind legs to meet his new opponent; his victim dropped before him; the Norrlander seized the favourable opportunity, raised his gun with both arms high above his head, to bring it in a horizontal position on a level with the bear's, and, trusting to feeling more than sight, discharged his piece. An immediate death-wound could alone save either from their enemy. The success, which the brave man deserved, attended him, and the ball passed through the brain of the bear which fell dead on the rescued man.

The spoils of so formidable an enemy, one would suppose, would be used to protect the person of the victor against the severity of the climate; I however never met with any put to that use in Sweden. The peasants in Norrland satisfy themselves with the humbler skins of a species of dogs which they breed chiefly, it

seems, for that purpose. When the pelisse is made of black or dark brown ones, it is handsome enough, though I have heard of such a thing as the wearer being mistaken for a bear at a skall, and shot dead. It has always struck me as unfeeling to keep this most amiable of animals merely with a prospect of stripping him of his skin; and when the faithful companion comes to fondle his master, to pat him, not with a feeling of gratitude, but with a forethought how comfortable his sleek coat will be when winter comes on, and the friend who now looks with kindness on you shall have been slaughtered. It is bad enough to see in Spain the children decking the lambs which follow them with ribbons and flowers, and a few weeks afterwards making a meal of their dear playmate, when their attention has made him a desirable addition to the dinner-table. I was not therefore sorry, as I approached Piteä, to lose sight of the dog's-skin pelisses, and see them replaced by calves'-skins, which are universally

worn till one enters the region of reindeer, which in turn adorns the persons of the North Bothnians. The higher classes, when travelling, generally wear wolves'-skins, which are above the reach of the peasants, their cost amounting to about five pounds.

When the winter has fully set in, and the weather has continued moderately still for some time, the crossing of the Gulf over the ice at Umea is a matter of common occurrence. The nearest mainland on the opposite shore is somewhere near Jacobstad, but as small rocky islands extend in a south-easterly direction, it is usual to shape one's course for Wasa, and in that way avoid as much as possible the open part of the Gulf. The whole distance is about eighty miles, and the first half of the journey is that in which the greatest risk is incurred. A sudden change of wind may part the ice and leave the travellers in a most dangerous position, without shelter, and liable to be drifted away. This part of the journey must,



consequently, be hurried over, and little rest is allowed the horses till they come among the "Skaer," or islets, where there is no danger of the ice being dislodged. In winter the letters from Stockholm to Finland are carried from Grislehamn to the isle of Aland in sailing boats, and then conveyed in sledges among the islands, or rather rocks, that connect it with the coast near Abo. Last year, from the hardness of the weather, the mails were conveyed the whole way by horses for more than a month's time.

The last town on the north-road is Pitea, the chief, or rather only town of the "loen," or province, built at the mouth of the river, which also designates one of the "Lapmarks." At the last stage before coming to it I observed a man in fetters, walking alone near the post-house; his keeper was too busy warming himself near the fire to look after him, and I must say, the culprit showed no inclination to escape. Neither he, nor his guardian, would have troubled me

much, had I not found that as one peasant sufficed to bring back the horses of both sledges, I was obliged to keep company with this worthy for fourteen miles. Though he was to lodge that night in a prison, and prisons in his country are not as commodious as in England, he was marvellously in a hurry to attain his journey's end, and complained of our speed, which, nevertheless, was very tolerable; I suspect that the iron about his ancles was not particularly comfortable in the cold air.

The road passes through Old Lulea, which has long ceased to be a seaport; a new town, built close to the shore, has now usurped its trade, and left it a miserable village. Its size, if not its importance, is increased by a long street of square ground-floor houses, belonging to farmers in the neighbourhood, used as boxes for their horses and themselves, when they come to church. The same sort of buildings are to be occasionally seen in the north of Sweden, but not to such extent till the scantiness of the

population obliges the peasants to come from distant quarters to divine worship.

As I was passing through a forest, between that place and the little hamlet of Ranby, the driver pointed out to me the scene of a murder, an event rare enough in Sweden to attach an interest to a place long after the circumstance would be forgotten in more southern climates. In the north, the traveller has little to dread from the attacks of the highwayman. If he leaves a bottle of brandy in his sledge, I would not answer for its sanctity not being invaded, and even his whip might be thrown away, rather out of love for the peasant's horse, than to acquire it himself; but few attempts will be made upon his person or purse. Nothing, indeed, would be easier than to commit acts of violence; the forests that extend far to the west would throw too sure a veil over any deed of iniquity, and the wolves and other wild beasts that infest the woods, would soon destroy every vestige of the victim. Yet such cases occur rarely; I may

say, with one or two exceptions, they have never been heard of. On my journey I slept as securely in my sledge, while passing through the forests, as if I had been in a well-barred house, protected by all the police of London. When you have defended yourself against the rigour of the climate, you require little protection against your fellow-men.

The circumstance which was now related to me, had not occurred more than five years back.

A traveller, while waiting at the posthouse for horses, imprudently exhibited a large bundle of notes. At that time paper of every denomination was equally rude, and the size of his pocket-book impressed every one present with an idea that it contained a large sum. This, however, was erroneous, and the notes were afterwards found to be of little value. The quantity excited the avarice of the peasant, who was to follow him to the next stage. In many of the sledges the man who has to take back the horses stands on the runners behind the traveller, if the latter chooses

to give himself the trouble of driving. The peasant had observed him arrive, and marked that he would be put in this favourable position, and before starting took a hatchet with him, which excited no suspicion at the time. When they had arrived halfway, and were some miles from the nearest house, the peasant struck the man on the back of the head, and soon despatched him. Before, however, he had time to possess himself of the money that had urged him to the deed, he was disturbed by a slight noise at a distance, which his conscience at once interpreted into the approach of some one. He accordingly plunged into the forest, and the horse, now left to his own guidance, trotted on to the end of the stage, and discovered the outrage that had been committed.

By the laws of Sweden, a criminal is not put to death before he has acknowledged his guilt; and such persuasive arguments are used to induce him to take that course, that the culprit, sooner or later, ends by confessing his crime,

and seeking in death for that peace which he will have little chance of enjoying as long as he remains obstinate. Some have had perseverance enough to hold out two or three years, yet such instances are rare. In the case of the present murderer, there was no repugnance at owning the fact. In consequence of this custom, criminals in Sweden never exhibit, at the place of execution, those signs of hardness which often excite the sympathy of the mob, and are by them mistaken for innocence. Generally they walk fearlessly to the spot, accompanied by some friend, and give way to neither extreme of pusillanimity nor indifference.

When an execution is to take place in the country, notice is given in the parish church that a certain number of peasants are to find themselves at the appointed place with staves; these serve to form a ring, each man taking hold of the end of his neighbour's stick. A log is then cut down, and the prisoner having laid himself at full length, with his neck across it,

his head is cut off with an axe, his right hand having been, in general, previously cut off. After decapitation, the body, the right hand, and the head of the criminal, are exposed on stakes, the trunk being thrown on a cart-wheel, elevated on the middle post, and the remains are left there to decay. The bodies of female criminals are laid on a board, under which a fire is made, and are thus consumed. In latter years, I believe, this more decent course has been adopted in the case of both sexes.

At Ranby I found a small wooden church, of most rude exterior; it was, however, well filled, as all places of worship are in Sweden on Sunday. When the service was over, I met a Norwegian, a native of Hammerfest; he was come to attend a fair that had just taken place in the village, and offered, if I would wait a few days at Tornea, to accompany me through Lapland on his way home. He was, however, so uncertain of the time when he would be able to start, that I was obliged to forego the advan-

tage of his company, and satisfy myself with his instructions relative to the mode of travelling, and different remarks concerning particular places on the way.

I was now not more than seventy miles from Tornea;\* since leaving Pitea I had marked a great increase in the cold; in driving along the Kalix river, it became almost intolerable. In addition, I had a narrow escape of being sunk, sledge and all, in an air-hole in the ice, which was not visible a few yards off. Yet these little incidents were not without relieving the monotony of a journey which, when I entered Haparanda, had extended over eight hundred miles, and passed through only seven towns.

\* The final *a* of Tornea, Umea, Pitea, Skelleftea, &c., is pronounced *o*, and signifies river.



CHAPTER IX.

---

Happaranda — Tornea — Cossacks — Avasaxa on Midsummer's night — Summer travelling in North Bothnia — Rigour of the climate — Gellivara — Reappearance of the sun—A Lapland family.

It was dark and stormy when I turned into the court of the inn of Happaranda. Our progress along the Kalix river, with the wind ahead, had made great havoc with my face; as for the horse and sledge it was impossible to guess at their original colour with any certainty; both were clothed in a thick cover of rime, and

about the horses' nostrils hung icicles not far from a foot in length. So far circumstances agreed with the idea I had formed of Tornea in winter; thirty-six degrees of cold, according to Celsius's scale, was what might be reasonably expected on the verge of the Arctic circle. I was, however, agreeably disappointed on being shown into a very comfortable clean room. A very good-looking girl, whose drawling Kalix dialect was any thing but easy to comprehend, hastened to fetch me some coffee, an article which one always finds good even in the poorest post-houses in Sweden, and which is far better than tea when hunger, cold, and fatigue combine to exhaust the frame. The latter may be more refreshing when a journey of a day or two, with all appliances, is to be undertaken, but when an open sledge is to be one's bed, and after a breakfast of black rye bread, baked six months before, there is a probability of not getting a better dinner, a cup of coffee is a real luxury.

It is generally recommended to travellers to carry a supply of provisions, and thus be independent of the inns, which in the way of eating are miserably provided. But that even this precaution will be of little use, we had an opportunity of seeing at the beginning of our journey. At Gefle, we bought some capercali ready dressed; when we began to cut them up, some six hours afterwards, they were so frozen that it was impossible to eat them. Happening to be delayed at a place called Uppbo, I thrust one of the birds into the stove and left it there for half-an-hour, at the end of which time I found the impression of the heat was little more than skin deep, so that, after carrying this useless food for several days, we got so tired of being tantalized with it, that we threw them to some dogs.

The little town of Happaranda owes its origin to the cession of Tornea to the Russians at the end of the war. The latter is built on a peninsula, formerly an island in the river of the same name, and followed the fate of the part

of Finland lying on the eastern bank. Having lost this their most northern town, the Swedes determined on building a new one on their side. As yet, there are but few houses, and the place cannot lay claim to the rank of more than a köpping, or trading place, but it bids fair, with time, to surpass Tornea in size, as it has already in goodness of building.

The trade, also, is of more importance on the Swedish side of the river than on the Russian, and the merchants on the former are of more consequence. The harbour is a few miles below, near the mouth. The navigation of the Gulf of Bothnia, at its northern extremity, is very difficult, and this is of great disadvantage to the town, as it prevents steamers coming often to it. Last year one made a trip there in the summer, and I have heard that a regular boat is intended to run to it this season from Stockholm. Should this speculation be persevered in, a trip to see the Arctic sun at midnight will be of no

more difficulty than one to see the buoy at the Nore.

As the day advanced, I determined on availing myself of the short time that the sun remained above the horizon, to go over to Tornea. It is a rather back-door way of entering the Russian empire, and not one which gives a stranger the highest notion of its military power. In Happaranda no soldiers whatever were to be seen; those belonging to the regiment of the province had not exactly turned their swords into ploughshares, for there would have been nothing for them but snow to plough, but they were turned into peasants, and would remain in that state till the returning summer would bring back the season for drilling. I had heard that Tornea was in a better state of defence; that it was garrisoned with Cossacks. I was further told of the numberless crosses that covered the commanding officer of this important position.

Eager to see again the long beards of these

half-wild troops, of which I had a very indistinct recollection, I asked the way to Tornea, and was pointed out an avenue of young fir-trees planted in the ice, and forming a good track over the river. It is scarcely half a mile wide in this part, and, after making some leeway in my progress, for the wind was very high, I came to the opposite bank. I expected here to be subjected to the examination which takes place on every other part of the Russian frontier, but nothing in the shape of soldier or custom-house officer, or, indeed, living being, presented itself. A sentry box, I was going to say empty, but there I would be incorrect, for it was choked up with snow, was the only thing on duty here, and a high barrier of drift was the only bar to my entrance. Having surmounted that, I at once found myself as certainly in the dominions of the Emperor as if I was wending my way to Tobolsk under the escort of a keeper, with a recommendation to the governor of that province,

Turning up what appeared to me the principal street,—for as yet I had met but one individual, and he, upon my addressing him in Swedish, made a sign that he did not understand me—a gay-looking building, painted green and white, drew my attention from the uniformly mean houses on both sides. Four or five bells were hung in a row, not on the summit but on one side of it. This was the Russian church used for the troops ; the Finlanders are Lutherans, and have their own church. More sentry boxes, equally untenanted, were planted here and there ; Jack Frost seemed to have gained as complete a victory over the Cossacks as he did formerly, when he allied himself to them and expelled Napoleon from Russia. A few Finlanders, in their kybikes,\* and wrapped up in their fur pelisses, galloped by, and, as the tinkling of their bells died away, seemed to leave the place more deserted than ever.

\* A kind of light sledge used in Finland.

A little further on, I came to the "Gæst-gifvaregard" of the town. On one side of the gateway I observed a post, on which was painted in large letters, "To St. Petersburg, 1735 wersts." This was the first mark I saw of the change that Tornea had undergone by the fortune of war; its distance was now calculated from a new centre. As yet, little change has been made in the laws, as was agreed by the treaty of cession; but who can answer for its being observed when the performance of it depends solely on the will of one man, who has deprived his subjects of the power to resist his commands. Is there much reliance to be placed in a man who, in the plenitude of his power, lately issued an ukase, forbidding all persons under a certain age to wear spectacles? Already the Emperor has made an alteration in Finland; it is but trifling, some will call it nominal, but the people, who feel that it is the first step towards assimilating their country to the rest of the Russian empire, cannot look upon it but with



distrust. While under the Swedish crown Finland was divided into *Löens*, over which officers, called *Landshöfvdingar*, or the heads of the land, presided; latterly the Autocrat had taken a dislike to that Swedish title, and substituted the more Russian one of Governor and Government.

The next day the young Norwegian, whom I had left at Ranby, came to Happaranda, and we drove over together to Tornea. The peasant that went with us was a Finlander, and wore the handsome cap peculiar to that nation. It is a cloth or velvet skull-cap surrounded by fur, much after the manner of the tiara of the Russian women. They also wear a particular kind of boots, called *komager*, the feet of which are made of one entire piece, and the leg that reaches up to the knee of another. As the soles are not harder than what would be the upper leather with us, they are much better suited for walking on the snow and keeping the feet warm than the common sort of boots; the same kind are worn by the Habitants of Lower Canada.

We first drove to the apothecary, that generally great man in little towns. The shop was well fitted up, and displayed an assortment of jars and bottles that would not have disgraced a chemist in a country-town in England. That it is a far more profitable trade than with us, must be clear, from its being a sort of monopoly—very few towns in Sweden having more than one. The assistant, perceiving that we were strangers, mentioned it to his principal, who invited us into his house, and insisted upon our taking some wine and, what is a rarity at Tornea, some apples. He then conducted us to the barracks.

There were not more than thirty-two Cossacks and two officers stationed in the town, and, strange to say, this place is considered a very desirable post to be quartered in. The men have little to do in summer but to amuse themselves by fishing in the river, and winning the hearts of the Finland girls. There was a hint also given me, that the sale of the horse's forage made the pay rather better than elsewhere.

Each man could make a hundred roubles a year, which must be vast wealth in the eyes of a Russian soldier, and at the end of their five years' servitude, many of them that had come in rags returned tolerably well appointed.

We entered the barrack-yard, which displayed nothing of a military cast but the mustaches of some twenty men, of every height, from five feet four to six feet two, with high cheekbones, and wrapped up in sheepskin pelisses down to the knees. Some sharp bargaining was going on between the soldiers and a Finlander, who had brought a horse, for which he asked about seven guineas. It was easy to see that he had come to the wrong market, and, after more than one of the Cossacks had mounted and driven the horse round the yard with the help of that most persuasive instrument, the "nitraika," the peasant turned sulkily away, to look for some less difficult customer.

They civilly showed us the stables, and pointed out two of their horses as coming from

the Don. They were the two that had the ugliest heads of the whole lot, a quality in which they perfectly resembled their owners. Not more than one or two men were in uniform, which was merely a short blue jacket and wide trousers of the same colour, with a stripe down the side. Besides their sword, musket, pistols, and lance, the "nitraika," or whip, is no mean weapon. It might not unaptly be called a flail, and is as often applied to their enemy's person as their own horse. The thong, of plaited leather, is of the same length and thickness as the stick, and it does not yield much to it in stiffness. It is secured by a loop to the wrist, and, when wielded by an experienced hand, might, without much difficulty, break a man's arm.

The Norwegian introduced me to a gentleman at the head of the iron-works at Kœngis, about a hundred miles up the river Tornea. As Swedish is no longer spoken north of Happaranda, he recommended me to take the opportunity of the inspector's return to the north, and it was

accordingly settled that we should start together. Mr. Bergmark was accompanied by his wife and sister, who both travelled in an open sledge, notwithstanding the severity of the weather. Covered ones are not much used here; their greater weight, where the track admits of only one horse, renders them inconvenient for a long journey. It was a beautiful evening when we left Happaranda, and the moon shone delightfully over the river, making the night little darker than what was called day. After changing horses twice, we drove to a clergyman's house with whom Mr. B— was acquainted, and were regaled with an excellent supper. In the family was a young Magister, from the University of Upsala, who was most entertaining, and our host, who had for some years held a living in the heart of Tornea Lapmark, gave me much information as to my future mode of proceeding. In such pleasant company the time fled quickly, and it was past two in the morning before we were again in our

sledges, driving along at a rate which the good pastor's punch had no doubt accelerated.

Early in the morning we came to the village of Ofvre Tornea, or, rather, as the part built on the Swedish side is called, Matarengi. This spot has obtained some fame from being the first place where the sun is seen at midnight at midsummer, and here, as the road ends, is the general limit of travellers' journeys to the north. Most years, upon that occasion, men from many of the nations in Europe meet on a hill, not far from the village, called Avasaxa, and watch the sun touch the horizon and rise again. As may be supposed, Englishmen are not the rarest there, and many amusing anecdotes have been told me of their proceedings. A Swede, who held an office in the district of Lulea, and, therefore, had often been present on the spot, told me of one who came galloping up a quarter of an hour before the time. My informant having been in England, and speaking English, invited him to join his party, who were going to

have a collation, but our countryman was in too great a hurry for such diversions, and excused himself. He, at the same time, ordered his servant to bring out a bottle of champagne that had been shaken the whole way from St. Petersburg, and waiting till the critical moment, when the sun was, if we may use the expression, both setting and rising, tossed off a bumper, sprang into his carriage, and returned without more delay to the place whence he came.

Another individual was not so lucky. Twice he arrived at the place the day after the time. Yet, if he was slow, he cannot be accused of want of perseverance; a third time he went over the same long journey, and, by an exertion of all his energies, contrived to arrive at the well-known place some hours before the time required. Such a labour, however, rather exhausted him, and he lay down to rest, leaving an order with his servant to call him a few minutes before midnight. He was accordingly summoned as he had desired; but, probably, he was dreaming about other

things than what he was come to see; for, saying “d—n the sun—see him to-morrow,” he turned himself in his bed, and fell again into a sound sleep. I have not heard whether he has made a fourth attempt, or whether he is, like Vanderdecken, doomed to pass his life in pursuit of an object which he will never accomplish. If so, the punishment of the one beating round the Cape is incomparably less than his—toiling along through West Bothnia, stung with musquitoes, and burned by a sun that continually deludes him.

After leaving Matarengi a visible decrease in the length of the miles takes place, probably from the distance being reckoned after what it is in summer, when the swamps that cover the country are in many places impassable without making a detour. There being no road to follow, we drove alternately on the Russian and Swedish banks, and not unfrequently on the river itself. There are no longer any regular post-houses, but the peasants always drive



to a particular farm-house, which answers the purpose, and there is little delay in getting horses, as the people are happy enough to gain thereby a few shillings. I came to Jouxengi before my companions had come up, and I was in no little difficulty, as I found it impossible to understand a word of Finnish. It bears not the least affinity to Swedish and Norwegian, and I might have remained there a long while before I should have comprehended even their numbers, had not Mr. Bergmark arrived, and given me the numerals in that language.

The house we were in was a true North Bothnian farm-house ; a large fire blazed that made even the great room uncomfortably warm. Divers trades were going on in different parts of it ; in one corner a man was finishing a set of harness ; in another, the runners of a sledge were receiving the peculiar curve that distinguishes them in Finland ; and a number of lasses, with their shoulders troubled with very little clothing, were keeping half-a-dozen spin-

ning-wheels in constant motion. As soon as they perceived that I wanted a relay, one of the girls put on a little jacket, and, without waiting to button it over her breast, ran to a house a quarter of a mile off to fetch a horse.

It has often struck me, that this incautious exposure from the greatest bearable heat to intense cold, must make these people decrepit at an early age. Yet these extremes seem not to affect them much, and the immoderate use of the vapour-bath must be a still greater trial to their constitutions. Every little village has its "Bastue," or bathing-house, where both sexes enjoy, in primitive simplicity, the pleasures of being parboiled. This indulgence, however their health may stand it, does not improve the looks of the women; while young they are very fair-looking, but as soon as their first years of youth are passed, they sink at once into the class of hags, and retain little outward remains of human beings. The heat of their baths is so great that the men find no

difficulty in shaving, without lather, with the worst possible razors. The process of heating is the same as in Russia, and the same use is made of twigs for beating the bathers.

In summer, a journey across the country between the Icy Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia is an undertaking of great labour and hardship. The first part, to Muonio Niska, can be traversed in boats, but this is a very tedious process, for the river is, in many places, very shallow; frequent waterfalls intervene, and rocks render the navigation very laborious. The boats have to be punted up, and the eddies and currents are so strong that the progress to the north is very slow. Add to this the intolerable heat of the sun, the myriads of insects that torment in every variety of way, stinging and buzzing, and it will be easy to see how preferable the winter travelling is.

I once met with a gentleman in Edinburgh who had gone as far as the sixty-seventh degree north, and he assured me that the fatigue he

endured was excessive. After leaving Ofvre Tornea, he proceeded on foot, accompanied by some Finlanders, who carried his baggage. At night, his only resting-place was at the foot of a tree, where he tried to protect himself from the mosquitoes by a bearskin, not less necessary for cold; for, as the sun gets low, the nights are by no means warm. Yet, these are small obstacles to the progress of an ardent naturalist, and his fatigues will be well repayed by the varieties of new plants that here blossom but to die. The season during which nature is released from its icy shackles is here too short for it not to exert itself. In prosperous seasons, and they are rare, six weeks scarcely intervene between the reaping and sowing of a North Bothnian crop.

Unfortunately, dame Nature often forgets, in her hurry, what is most material, and, instead of grain, the peasant is only rewarded with straw. Such, for the last dozen years, has been the case in this region; yet, with a persever-

ance worthy of better success, the attempt to raise corn has not yet been abandoned : witness the bread that is met with in every house. It certainly can lay claim to that appellation, for meal enters into its composition, but only in just such quantities as to bind the chaff and straw together that form the body of it. Often in handling a piece inadvertently, it has crumbled to dust in my hands ; it approaches nearer to a piece of rough-cast wall than any thing I have ever tasted. Luckily, there is plenty of good pasture, and the morasses produce an abundance of forage for their cattle. By this means, they are able to make up for the badness of the bread, with excellent milk and butter. Of the latter, they even export a large quantity to the copper-works in Finmark. I entered few houses where there were not shelves on each side of the fire, bearing forty or fifty birch pans, filled with cream, an inch thick ; and they contrive to continue making butter the whole winter through.

The houses are not dirty, though the rooms are generally darkened by smoke. In lieu of candles, they use laths of fir, planted obliquely in a stand; these give a cheerful but unsteady light, and require replacing every second minute. Although labouring under such disadvantages, both as regards soil and climate, their state is infinitely preferable to that of the Irish. Their habitations are roomy, built of wood, and furnished with glass windows; they themselves are comfortably clothed and industrious. Many have been driven by the failure of crops to seek for employment elsewhere; and those who have gone to the copper-works at Alten are preferred to the Norwegians, as working more cheerfully. There is no diminution in the size of the cattle, as one advances towards the north; the horses struck me as larger than those in the middle and south of Sweden.

As regards the trees, a gradual decrease in bulk was visible after leaving the Arctic circle behind me; this was more owing, perhaps, to

the increased elevation of the ground than the latitude. The ascent is gradual on the southern side of the mountains, and would be imperceptible were it not for the falls that occur in the river in different places. The country is also less inhabited, and the distance between the farms becomes doubled. Beyond Muonio Niska, not more than two or three are to be met on the way to the Norwegian settlements on the coast. A few Finlanders have settled thus far in the wilderness; but it is more with a view of fishing than agriculture; and their houses are generally fixed on that account near some lake.

At Turtola Mr. Bergmark introduced me to a Finnish gentleman's house, where we dined, and in the evening I proceeded on my route. The next morning, arriving at a place called Kollare, I found I should have to drive with the same horse seventy miles. This struck me as rather a long stage, and I inquired of a woman, who had learned a little Swedish at Happaranda, whether there was any place on the way to stop

at. There were two, she said, and if I found horses at either I might change; but she assured me that when the road was well beaten a horse could go over the distance in ten or eleven hours. I never met with unwillingness to provide me with horses; and though perfectly at their mercy, and unable to make myself understood, I never found any one take advantage of me. Whatever hour of the night I came in, they generally made a fire for me, and those who were awakened by my entrance, rose and lighted their pipes. The women partook more of this luxury than in any country that I have seen; but a cigar seemed beyond their comprehension, and they stared at it with evident astonishment.

After passing Kœngis, I left the Tornea river, which takes its rise in the north-west, and continued due north along the Muonio, which falls into it in this neighbourhood. I did not avail myself of an invitation I had to call at the Forges, but proceeded without stopping. Bars are



chiefly manufactured at this place, and conveyed in boats down to the head of the Gulf. Latterly the works have not been much attended to, and are in sad repair, the late owners having failed. I was told that the neighbourhood produced very rich iron-ore, and only required capital to make it very valuable property.

Some miles to the west is the famous mountain of Gellivara, in Lulea Lapmark, which is one mass of ore, yielding seventy-five per cent. iron. The excellence of the mineral, however, is of little use, as there is neither a road leading to it, nor wood for smelting the ore in the neighbourhood. If worked the ore would have to be conveyed in winter to the forges by reindeer, a mode of transportation which would be so expensive as to counterbalance the advantages arising from the richness of the mine. In many parts of Lapland iron-ore is found in a state that requires little trouble to make it fit for use, and it is unfortunate that the extent and wildness of the country render it unavailable.

While waiting for my horse at Kollare, I observed the woman with whom I was talking looking very anxiously through the window. As there was nothing for the eye to rest on but snow, I inquired what took up so much of her attention. "The sun will rise above the horizon to-day," said she. I could now fully understand her anxiety about the return of a friend whom she had not seen for more than six weeks. The sun did rise, but it was only to show himself for a moment, and then sink again. It must not, however, be supposed, that with his disappearance darkness at once took his place, as with us. For near three hours after, the reflection of his rays cheered the way, and when the redness that marked the west had entirely faded away, the moon rose and threw a flood of light over the snow, sufficient to let me see the landscape as far as by daylight.

Thus we proceeded along the Muonio about thirty-five miles, when the driver suddenly turned up the bank and halted at a small

house. I jumped out of my sledge, and threw open the door of the kitchen, when a most curious scene presented itself. The principal feature in the tableau was a Lapland woman, possessing no great personal attractions, and under the influence of drink, probably stronger than reindeer's milk. She was clothed in furs, that bore evidence of long service, and had the dirtiest face I ever saw. The floor of the room was covered with children in the same style of dress; and in a corner another woman was rolling herself about, complaining of pain. As I saw an old man and a couple of fair children, I at once judged that the former was the master of the house and a Finlander. He told me, in broken Swedish, that the women belonged to two families that had joined their herds of reindeer, and were moving towards the west. The men were gone out to look after their cattle, which amounted to about three hundred. I found that the Finlander's horses were out, and that I must wait here till mine was

ready to go twenty miles further. As I was a new comer, the Lapland hag turned all her attentions to me, and insisted upon my taking her youngest child, a favour from which I had great difficulty in excusing myself. It was no easy matter to prevent her tossing it at me, and I began to be fearful about the safety of the little creature. At last, finding me resolute, she retired, muttering something, that from the tone could not be mistaken for a compliment, and amused herself kicking her half-starved dogs, and pulling about her numerous brats.

There was a great contrast between hers and the farmer's children, and I cannot say that it was favourable to the former, who looked like Esquimeaux, and were as broad as they were long. Altogether I cannot look upon the three hours that I passed at Kikilenge, as the pleasantest time of the journey. The place was dirty, the company disagreeable, and there was no more light than what proceeded from the stove. These would have been trifling objec-

tions, had I been able to remain in the open air; but that I found so severe, that I was obliged to return to the close room, and amuse myself with the frolics of the drunken dame, till the horse was baited and ready to proceed.

At Parkajoki there was luckily a horse, so that having awakened about thirty individuals, and thus given them an opportunity of lighting their pipes, for which I do not doubt they felt grateful, I entered my sledge, and fell asleep; in which state I continued till my driver awoke me by screaming into my ear some jaw-breaking words, to the purport that I was at Muonio Niska.

CHAPTER X.

---

Muonio-Niska and Tornea Lapmark—Lapland costume  
—Snow-shoes—Sledge and harness—Reindeer—Hætta  
—Wolves—Moss.

THE house, at the door of which the peasant had deposited me, belonged to a Norwegian trader, who invited me in, and whose hospitality I enjoyed till I was able to equip myself for my Lapland journey, and procure reindeer. It was fortunate for me that I did not drive to the inn on the Russian side of the river, for there scarcely any one understood a word but Finnish, and my helplessness would have been complete.

My host at first recommended me to proceed with horses to Kallisovando, as the most agreeable mode of travelling; but I was too eager to try the reindeer to listen to his objections. A messenger was accordingly sent off to the nearest Lap encampment, some four-and-twenty miles off. The man returned the next day, with the news that the people had been obliged to strike their tents and shift their quarters, from the number of wolves that infested the neighbourhood. Mr. D., whom I had left behind at Hernosand, had now come up, and the messenger was sent off again in search of the wanderers, for a larger number of reindeer; and we passed the interval in procuring the different parts of the Laponic costume, which it is customary to wear on journeys performed with reindeer.

This dress combines great warmth, with the advantage of being light, and leaving sufficient freedom to the limbs. The principal piece is the "moudda," or fur gown, closed all round, and

resembling a shirt, of sufficient length to reach the calves or the legs. The skins of young deer are chiefly used for this part of the dress, and when attention is paid to appearances, the backs only of the darkest calves are selected. The collar, and sometimes the cuff, is ornamented with stripes of red cloth; the sleeves are rather short, as long gauntlets cover the arm halfway up to the elbow. The "Poussa," or breeches, are worn by both sexes, and are confined round the ankle by woollen bands (Voudtaka), that connect the shoes with the rest of the dress, and prevent the introduction of snow. These bands are generally variegated, and measure from twelve to fourteen feet in length. Custom has devoted particular parts of the hide to the different articles of the Laplander's costume; thus the gloves are always made of the skin that covers the feet, as the cleft of the hoofs answers in shape to the part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger. The skin of the *hocks*, being the



toughest, is made into leggins, and gives the same protection to the legs of the master that it had given during life to those of the deer. The face undergoes a great change, being transferred to the man's feet. To make a shoe, the head of the deer is flayed, and the skin sewed up on each side, and it thus forms a buskin, with the tip of the nose for a peak at the toes. Like the Esquimaux, these people have very small hands and feet, and the interval between them and these rather large shoes is filled with hay. They are called "kallokah," and are very warm and good for walking on the snow. In summer-time, shoes, much of the same shape, but of leather, are substituted.

The hairy side of the skins is worn outside. In very cold weather a second "moudda" is added under the usual one, with the fur turned next to the body. The use of linen is unknown to them; a sheepskin, with the wool on, forms their winter under-garment. While on a journey in the mountains, the Laplanders of Fin-

mark generally wear a bearskin tippet over their shoulders, with the teeth or the claws of the animal hanging over the breast. This is by far the most expensive part of their apparel, and, if made of the spoils of a young silver bear, is rather ornamental, and certainly most comfortable. The costume is completed by a belt that confines the moudda, and from which hangs an enormous butcher's knife in a sheath, a flint and steel, and a pipe. The brandy-flask, and every thing else that requires to be kept from freezing, is dropped by the collar into the space between the moudda and the body above the belt, and, when wanted, is drawn out through the sleeve. The women's winter dress differs only in having the belt worn higher than in those of the other sex. The men's moudda does not generally reach lower than the knees, being drawn up to form the pouch before mentioned, to which they give the name of "puogna."

The head-dress varies in different parts. In

Lulea Lapmark, red or blue cloth caps are in use; at Koutokeino, the women wear them of the former colour, ornamented with tinsel, and terminating like a horse's hoof. In Finmark, the men's are conical and bordered with dog's fur.

The Laplanders have always been noted for the use they make of snow-shoes. Their old name of Skritt Finner arose from the celerity with which they glided along the snow with these useful machines. They call them "andror," and make them of wood; they are about six feet long and five inches wide, and slightly turned up in front. They are not generally both of the same length, for considerable facility in turning is acquired by having one a foot shorter than the other. A band of willow, twisted into a circle, through which the feet are thrust, suffices to keep them fast. While running, the hunter steadies himself with a long staff, shod with a wheel about three inches in diameter to prevent its sinking. Without his

snow-shoes, he would be indeed helpless, for he would find it difficult to move far on the surface, even with his wide kallokahs. With their assistance he can pursue his worst enemy—the wolf, or give chase to the strange wild deer that occasionally insinuate themselves into his herd.

In summer a very old moudda, with the hair worn off, or a suit of coarse cloth of the same cut, takes the place of the warm clothing. The women have their belts ornamented with silver, and rings, to which they attach their pipes (for both sexes indulge in the weed), tinder, knives, and needles, with reindeer sinews which are used for thread. As the summer dress is more open in front than the winter, the part of the breast that would be thereby exposed is covered with a piece of cloth fastened round the throat, and falling within the robe. Upon this part the girls expend all their talents in needlework. Gold and silver embroidery, small plates of the latter metal, and curious devices in different coloured cloths, are lavished upon this “atsaleppa.”

The sledge used with reindeer is in general called "kerres;" that which is used for travelling, and which is decked over the fore-part, is distinguished by the name of "pulka." In shape it resembles a small sea-boat the stern of which has been cut off and replaced by an upright board. It is klinker built, with a broad keel, and sufficiently high behind to support the back. From stem to stern it is scarcely more than four feet long, and just wide enough to admit one person of moderate dimensions. It is dragged by a trace (raktes) of deerskin, fastened to the bottom of a collar (kesas) of the same material. This is passed between the fore and hind legs of the deer, and is made fast to the head of the boat. A single rein of plaited deer's sinews, or walrus-hide, serves at once to guide and to drive him on. Should he flag, it is easy to quicken his pace, by drawing it sharply along his side. The thong is not fastened to his horns, as is generally supposed, but round his

head, and it is sufficient to throw it over to his right side to make him move on. The traveller is usually bound in the sledge with cords, which prevent his being dislodged when the pulka is thrown on its side, an event of hourly occurrence with beginners. With such tackle it is a doubt which is the greatest feat, driving a postchaise a whole stage without a pole, or bringing a pulka down a steep descent at a gallop, without reaching the bottom before the deer.

With regard to the deer, none that I saw were larger than the common English fallow deer. Those in Russian Lapland, near Kola, are said to be much taller, while the wild ones in Spitzbergen, though exceedingly fat, are much inferior in size. All, however, are much stouter in the limbs than any of the same family, and have feet peculiarly formed for the climate they inhabit. The hoofs do not look remarkably large when raised off the ground, yet each time they strike the snow, spread so as to cover a greater surface than a bullock's foot. By this

formation they are enabled, with their comparatively light carcasses, to traverse wilds of untrodden snow, sinking scarce four inches, where a horse would be irretrievably lost.

It has been remarked that no animal is so difficult to keep alive out of his native country as the reindeer. The limits of the regions suited to his nature are more narrowly defined than those of any other known creature. It is difficult to keep him as far south as Stockholm; the warmth of the climate even there being too great for him. I nevertheless think that there is still a greater difficulty to be overcome than that of climate, to which he might be hardened, after a few generations. The spreading of their feet would make moving over a hard, dry surface a very toilsome exercise. In their own country the snow has scarce time to melt before it again covers the soil, and, during the short interval that it is bare, they tread chiefly on soft morasses.

The horns are palmated and very eccentric in

their shapes; most deer have an antler that runs down the front of their face as far as the nose, and serves as a protection. They are of a coarse quality, and fit only for boiling into glue. Many lose theirs in winter, from some accident or other, and it is rare to see a number together without marking a good proportion with only one, and not a few totally deprived of that ornament, and bearing a great similitude to calves. Unlike other deer, the females are furnished with horns as well as the males, but much smaller, and not thicker than a man's little finger. None but the havers (Herke) are used for draught; the Simmel, or cow, is kept merely for breeding and milking, and but a very limited number of stags are preserved for each herd.

Two faults have struck me in all the representations of reindeer that are met with in accounts of Lapland winter travelling; the first is the great size that is given to the animal in proportion to the pulka and man that he drags behind him. The other inaccuracy is in draw-



ing them always in full gallop, with their heads up, like leaders in a Brighton stage. That, for a short distance of four or five miles, they can be urged into that pace, I will not deny. Returning from church, with an exuberance of animal, as well as mental, spirits, the little fellows will sometimes try what their favourites can do, and make them fly like a train on a railroad. But still this is not the customary pace of the reindeer; he chiefly trots with his head low, the whole weight being on the back of his neck, which rises into a slight hunch at the withers. His appearance is one of extreme distress; his mouth he keeps open, and, by his excessive panting, leads one, unacquainted with his habits, to suppose that he will drop down dead in a few minutes. Yet nothing is more deceptive; for I have driven a deer, who exhibited all these symptoms while yet in sight of the starting-place, seventy miles in the course of the day, without finding that he was more exhausted the following day. It is his hardiness and ability to pro-

vide himself with food, whatever be the depth of the snow, that render him valuable. In this last respect, he surpasses even the camel, for he never dies of want, and rarely of fatigue.

When all our arrangements were completed, a Laplander made his appearance with seven reindeer. He was not above four feet five inches high—in fact, one of the shortest of his pigmy race; but what he wanted in height, he made up for in circumference. Furthermore, his head was so imbedded in a vast bearskin tippet, that he had the appearance of having been decapitated. His long lank hair, and high cheekbones, strongly reminded me of an Esquimaux; but a good-humoured twinkle in his eye gave us hopes that he would be an agreeable guide. He was to convey us to the village of Koutokeino, in Finmark, sixteen Swedish miles north of Niska. The way to it lies chiefly in Russian Lapland, which, following the bend of the Muonio, makes a crook between Norway and Sweden. Of the reindeer, two were for ourselves, as many for

the baggage; one for the Wapphus, or guide, and the two remaining ones were to follow as a *corps de reserve*, in case of unforeseen accidents, such as one of the cattle breaking his leg, or being prematurely tired out.

The next morning the cavalcade, if it may be so called, was arranged for the journey. The luggage was firmly packed in the kerres, used for cargo only, and which are therefore wider than the pulkas, and open at the stern. Great care must be taken to have nothing loose, or liable to shake away; for, in driving through the woods, the kerres often strike against projecting rocks and stumps of trees, by which they are overturned, and may be dragged in this style for half a mile, before some new impediment in the way restores the sledge to its right position. Another thing that makes the transport of fragile articles rather precarious is, that the deer's hind legs are often on the sledge in descending a hill. On the top of the baggage of one of the kerres, the guide tied his long

snow-shoes, and this being the last precaution to be taken, we moved ahead. The Wapphus led the way, followed by the baggage sledges, and the two spare deer, each fastened to the one before him; and we, as beginners, brought up the rear, depending more on the training of the deer, than our driving, for the chances of keeping up with the rest of the train.

The breaking in of deer for draught is a very tedious and uncertain process; only a small proportion of those taken in hand will be fit to lead a train; others will go best single; and by far the greatest number are fit only for following in the line. In the severe discipline that he undergoes, the reindeer, though patient, will, like the camel, sometimes turn restive, and show fight against his master. In such cases, he not only uses his horns, but also strikes with his fore feet. The only mode to protect oneself against such an attack, is to overturn the pulka, and let him strike to his heart's content; yet I doubt whether a stranger, swaddled up in his

sledge, would find it easy to go through such a complicated evolution before the sharp hoofs of his antagonist had given him a good drubbing. Luckily, such instances of rebellion only occur when they are being broken in, and the old ones are tame enough, if fairly treated.

The Wapphus rarely uses a pulka, or sits at his ease; he generally takes his position with one leg stretched out, and the other folded under him, in order to be more at liberty to spring out, and put his deer in the right track when they turn out of it. This they frequently do when tired, dodging from side to side, and moving in circles, instead of going ahead. Considering it was a beginning, our start was fair enough, and having cleared the barking of the curs of the neighbourhood, and fairly got out of the long straggling village, we proceeded in an orderly manner. The sensation was so new, and the exercise of balancing the pulka so violent at first, that I was soon thrown into a perspiration. When we had proceeded some seven or eight

miles, our Wapphus showed, by his manner, that he was not perfectly acquainted with the route to Hætta, which was the first point that we were making for. He looked first at one hill, then at another, and frequently drove off the track into the deep snow, varying his course from east to west, in a most inexplicable fashion. This sort of progress gave no promise of coming nearer the end of our journey, and I was beginning to expostulate on the subject, when the little fellow espied some Finlanders about three miles off, from whom we learnt the right track. We soon after entered a more thickly-wooded tract of country, and, as the paths were fewer the further we advanced, we were not at fault again during the rest of the day.

Once, and once only, we passed a Finnish house, but saw no living being near it. In crossing these vast plains and hills, there is little for the eye to rest on beyond the stunted birch, and occasionally a huge rock, that protrudes above the snow. For a few minutes in

every hour we stopped to allow the cattle to eat a little snow, for which they seemed very eager, snapping a bit up even while trotting. After it was become dark we heard the barking of dogs, and passed an encampment, consisting of five or six tents; and a man belonging to it accompanied us with some reindeer, and a quantity of hay, for some miles. The latter must have been for the people at Hætta, for reindeer are not partial to it, and, except when pressed by hunger, will seldom eat it, and then only in small quantities.

In the evening we halted at Hætta, some forty miles from Niska; we here found a farm by the side of a lake, and were put into a small detached room, in which we were to pass the night. The quarters were not very agreeable, from the numerous fissures in the walls through which the wind rushed in. With the help of a hatchet, we cut off some pieces of a haunch of venison, and turned them into most unsatisfactory chops; for my companion had lost his

cooking-vessels, and in broiling the meat we found that the outside was burnt to a cinder before the inside was thawed. The people of the house added some excellent milk and large flat sheets of bread. This part of the feast we found so like sawdust that we dispensed with it, in the shape of food, and used it, as the Trojans of old, instead of plates. After having enjoyed a very frugal repast, we spread our skins on the floor, and laid down, in all our panoply, to sleep.

In the morning we were not sorry to resume our journey, and leave the cold hut for the pulkas. Lakes and hills succeeded one another, without presenting any new feature. As we advanced, the trees perceptibly dwindled into bushes, and every branch was incased in thick frost. Our guide had told us that we must wait a few hours at a "little room," and when we came in sight of it, we found the description fully agree as to its size; for, to make room for



us, the dogs had to be turned out into the plain.

It was a Lapland fisherman's hut, and built of logs, rather better fitted one to the other than those of our last lodging. The family consisted of a man, his wife, and her sister. In the course of the evening, two other men walked in, and a large pot was put on the fire, with about two stone of meat in it. As I observed one of the women, who superintended the cooking, throwing in a great deal of salt, I supposed it was intended for future use. I was, however, deceived, for the party, as soon as the pot simmered, began their supper, and in ten minutes not a morsel remained.

When their appetite had been appeased by this slight repast, the fishermen began to exhibit some inclination to trade, and produced a couple of ermines, a wolfskin and some hides of reindeer. Among the latter were some wild ones, which are darker than those of the tame,

and can be known by the ears being entire. All that have an owner are marked by notches and holes in that part. The natives can always swear to their cattle, even by the horns; they have a particular aversion to ascertaining the exact number in their herd, either from a superstitious idea that, if counted, it will decrease, or from an unwillingness to pay the amount of taxes at which they might in consequence be rated.

Another peculiarity, the abstaining from killing wolves, is common to the North American Indians and the Laplanders, but arises from very different motives; the savage considers it unfair to interfere with a brother hunter, while the timid little fellows here are actuated by a fear, that for every wolf they destroy, ten more will come in his place. Yet, this beast is the worst visiter they have, and levies far higher contributions on them than either the king or the priest. As long as the deer stands, he can defend himself, and even a bell round his neck

will scare off his aggressor; but the natural fear of the reindeer will always make him fly, and is then easily brought down by his pursuer. I have heard of a man losing as many as two hundred in this manner in the course of a winter; and when it is considered that the present value of a good "herke," or havier, is about twelve shillings, it will be seen what damage is committed by these voracious marauders.

Having made our bargains in skins, we lay down for a couple of hours, and started again at twelve at night. As the morning advanced, we approached the higher grounds, and had some enlivening rolls down steep hills. We had now passed into Finmark. Even in this remote quarter the boundary of Norway is marked by a line of the breadth of a common English road, cut in the forest, which is continued down the whole frontier. Coming to a spot where there was plenty of moss, we halted to allow our cattle to refresh themselves. It is curious to see them feed on these occasions; for, though

not disengaged from the "pulkas," as soon as they scent the moss beneath the snow, they begin scraping it aside with the fore foot, and in a few seconds dig through four or five feet to the ground. Sometimes there is so much snow, that they disappear in the holes they have made, and their horns alone are seen, while the "kerres" remains above them on the surface.

In later years, the reindeer have occasionally suffered severely from the mildness of the weather. This happens when the surface of the snow is first thawed, and afterwards rendered impenetrable by a crust formed by a subsequent frost. The poor animals are thus unable to get at their only food, and die in great numbers. This state of things, added to the voracity of the wolf has often stripped the mountain Laplander of his wealth, and driven him to the coast to live by fishing.

The moss (*lichen rangiferinus*) is called, in Laponic, "viste;" it is of a pale greenish colour,

rather dry, and of a somewhat musty taste. It bears no resemblance whatever to the Iceland moss, which is rather like dandelion, when green and fresh.

CHAPTER XI.

---

Koutokeino—The Laplanders' habits—Their language—Singing—Diseases—Origin of their name—The mountains—Sollivara.

ABOUT midday, we arrived at our destination, and found ourselves in the village of Koutokeino. Here was a church, which is visited every winter by the pastor, a Norwegian, who lives at Porsanger Fiord, near the North cape. The village is inhabited by a few Lapland families, who have deserted the wandering habits of their fathers, and settled down

in wooden huts, living principally by letting out reindeer to travellers, and conveying goods from the sea-coast to the interior. The whole of the race must be divided into two classes; the mountaineers, who are migratory and follow their herds, keeping in the highlands during winter, and moving to the coast in summer; and the fishing Laplanders, who are stationary, and possessed of no reindeer. The Koutokeino people form an exception to both; I suspect that they set up for husbandmen; for I observed fences in different parts of the immediate neighbourhood, but I did not hear what they attempt to raise so far in the highlands. During their journey the mountaineers carry all their property with them. Their silver coin alone is excepted; distrust even of his wife and children, the principal feature in the Laplander's character, prevents his risking his idol's safety in his migrations. It is, therefore, generally buried in some unsuspected spot. I have heard of one concealing his pelf under the track

the most used, and it has not unfrequently happened that persons have accidentally met with considerable sums placed where the improbability of a treasure being concealed was its only protection. Their immoderate love for silver coin is notorious; seldom does a piece that has fallen into their hands again find its way into circulation. In their character a mighty contest rages between the rival attractions of brandy and silver dollars. In the selection of a wife the charms of beauty have little power in comparison with the size of the herd that she brings with her as a portion. On marrying a son or daughter it is usual for the parents to give their children a part of their stock to form a herd of their own.

They are not all so ignorant as they are supposed to be, though it is generally allowed that their capacity is limited. At Koutokeino there is a school supported by the government, and conducted by a Laplander, who also rejoices in the office of parish-clerk, and interpreter to the



parson—a triple dignity which he supports with as much humility as can be expected from so great a man; but it would be useless to deny that this quality has its bounds, and it was easy to perceive that this Dominie could fully appreciate his own value. He even affected a kind of distinction of dress, at least in colour; his “moud-da” was perfectly white, which I did not observe any other man wear, though some of the girls did, probably in token of their virgin purity.

With respect to the *physique* of the Laplanders, it struck me that they are by no means as dark as travellers would have us suppose them to be, and even the hue that is prevalent among them while in the mountains, is partially lost when they remove to the more moderate climate of Stockholm, and are subjected to frequent ablutions. I one day met in the capital a family consisting of a man, his wife, and their son and daughter. The old couple still indulged in their native filth, and were most disgusting to look at; but the young people had

paid more attention to their persons, and were of the complexion of Spaniards. The girl, if she might be so called, for she was twenty-four years of age, though she appeared little more than fifteen, had a remarkably good figure, and had her hair plaited in two long tails, that hung far down her back. Her eyes were dark and piercing, for they had recovered from the effects of smoke, and her hands and feet were beautifully small. The greatest drawback to their being good-looking is the height of their cheek-bones, and the sharpness of their chins. An intermarriage between a Swede, or Norwegian, and a Laplander, is almost unknown. The Finlanders are not so choice, and such a connexion sometimes takes place between them. Though these two people differ in personal appearance, there is no doubt that they both belong to the same race that peoples the north of Asiatic Russia.

Their languages, though resembling one another in many respects, have not the least simili-

tude in several objects that are not only common to both, but are always present, and have probably not changed names for a long period. For instance, the sun, the sky, are in Laponic *Beive* and *Albma* ; in Finnish, *Auringa*, *Tawas* ; the animals most known to both, the bear, the wolf, and the fox, have no common appellation in both languages. On the other hand, many words descriptive of country, such as lake (*L. Jaur* ; *F. Jarvi*) ; mountain (*L. Vvara* ; *F. Vvouri*), river (*Jocki* in both), present little difference. The three above instances will explain the terminations that mark the names of most places in Lapland.

Three dialects prevail, that of the Luleans, said to be the harshest ; the Umeans, who have incorporated many Swedish words ; and, lastly, that of the inhabitants of the Tornea district, which approaches nearest to the Finnish. Their language has the reputation of being melodious. I will not deny that their voices are generally soft, but of the quality of the words themselves,

the reader will best judge from the following specimen, being the Lord's prayer :

“Ackie myan jocko le almen, passa heidta tuun nama, quai kipaate tuun rike, heidta tuun villio neukockte, almen naw ai adnemea alme, mijan paiwepaiwen laipem watte mijn udnin, ja laite mijn mijan suttuaid audagasin neukockte ai mija mijan welgolagiaitan ; ja alle mijan laidi tocko kiasge labma mutto wall variable mijan patrast.”

Many of these words are evidently of Swedish extraction. Their singing is monotonous, without any regular melody, but accompanied with much grimace and gesticulation. While driving, they will often beguile the length of the way by improvizing ; the subject of their chant being generally the voracity of the wolf, or the daring of the “ Moudda Aigja,” or old man in the fur-coat, as they call the bear ; and, by way of variation, they imitate the cries of these animals.

They are subject to few diseases, and live

frequently to the advanced age of eighty or ninety. A sort of leprosy, called, in Norwegian, "radsyge," sometimes shows itself among them, and it is said that their teeth often become worm-eaten. Linnæus, in his *Flora Lapponica*, mentions their being often seized with cholic and spasms, that put them to the greatest torture in summer. This never occurs in the mountains; but in the woods, when obliged to drink water, rendered half putrid by the rays of the sun, the complaint is common, but is overcome by the use of angelica. As they indulge in no luxury beyond brandy and tobacco, and, during a great part of the year, are out of the reach of even these, it may be naturally expected that they enjoy a robust old age; indeed, I have often been struck at the slow inroads on their constitution by years and hard living.

The name of Lapp, by which they are known in Sweden, is variously derived by different writers; most consider it to come from Lappa,

a patch, which is not unlikely, for they are looked on with supreme contempt by the Swedes. The name they give themselves is Sami, or Samiladz. The Norwegians call them Fins, and distinguish the Finlanders, or Suomilins, settled among them, by the name of Quœner. It is supposed that they are the aboriginal inhabitants of Scandinavia, and have been gradually driven back by the Norwegians and Swedes. There is considerable doubt about their early history. It appears that King Magnus Laudalus of Sweden gave them up to a people in Bothnia called Biarkarlar. Yet it is not quite settled who these last were, and whether they were the inhabitants of a particular parish, or of a larger district. At present the Lapmarks belong to West and North Bothnia, and the Norwegian part is included in the Amt, or province of West and East Finmark. In the latter they are liable to all the duties of citizens, and some have occasionally to serve as soldiers in the

fortress of Wardoe Hus, on the eastern side of the North Cape.

Besides the Laplanders, we found, at Koutokeino, two Norwegian traders, who sojourn here a few months in the winter, and return to Hammerfest in the summer. The arrival of strangers was soon made known to them, and they invited us to share their temporary habitation. The part of the house they lived in was smaller than the fisherman's hut. A small window threw an indifferent light into the cell, for though the sun was visible on the neighbouring hills he had not yet gladdened Koutokeino with his return. A little phial with quicksilver, served the purpose of thermometer, for here the mercury in winter is often on the point of freezing; and one of them told me that he had seen it freeze hard in the room, notwithstanding the stove was red hot. In such a case nothing but violent exercise could keep up the animal heat. A gentleman at Turtola, near

Køengis, told me he had been able to hammer a ball of mercury flat the year before, and at Roraas, in Norway, such excessive cold is by no means uncommon. I had, for the first time, felt the burning effects of frost; having occasion to use both my hands, I put a pair of silver spectacles to my lips, and found on taking them away that I tore off the skin. White patches also began to exhibit themselves on the face, which afterwards became brown, and lastly raw.

The room was homely, but it contained a gratifying sight in the shape of two shelves covered with books. These afforded their only amusement to the Norwegians during the long nights that they had to spend alone; for solitude would almost be preferable to the society of the villagers who crowded in, and made themselves perfectly at home. Not satisfied with filling the outer room, that served as a kitchen, they invaded the little sanctum where we were sitting. At last, with some difficulty,



the room was cleared of all except ourselves and a young damsel, who sat down by my side, and amused herself in examining the strangers' actions very minutely. She was far from bad-looking, and, had her face not been of a deep red, from exposure to cold, she might have passed muster among the Finlanders farther south.

As the clergyman's house was untenanted at the time we might have taken up our quarters in it, had we intended to sojourn any time in Koutokeino; but as the attractions of the place were limited to a crowd of half-drunken Laplanders, who seemed desirous of nothing so much as becoming wholly so, we made up our minds to remain where we were, till a fresh supply of reindeer could be procured. Our hosts accordingly sent for the father of our fair companion, whose duty it was to procure deer for travellers.

In Finmark the Laps are bound, when summoned, to do posting duty, and the law has

established a regular rate of payment for this service. About twopence farthing per mile is charged for each reindeer, and half as much again for the guide. It is also necessary to take a couple of spare ones, in case of accidents, such as breaking one of their legs, or their getting completely tired out, and for these deer half the usual rate is paid. Some difficulty arose about the number to be engaged, as the "Skjuts-Skaffare," or forwarder of post, was exceedingly intoxicated, and instead of minding what was said to him, was vociferous in his demand for more brandy.

When these troublesome fellows had been dismissed, we sat down to a most excellent venison stew, which one of the Norwegians had been dressing, while the other was arguing with the Laplanders. It was not long before the evening set in, and with the help of a good cigar, and the conversation of our hosts, we spent the time very pleasantly till the hour of rest. The room was so small, that when a few

reindeers' skins had been laid on the floor, and we had all four laid down on them, it would have been difficult to have found a vacant spot on which to place one's foot. Yet this was rather an advantage than otherwise, as the place, notwithstanding the stove, was still any thing but warm.

About midnight the Wapphus arrived with another man and the deer; and the usual difficulties of starting down a descent having been overcome, we glided rapidly along the surface of the river Alten. We had not, however, advanced much more than a Norwegian mile,\* when one of the men who accompanied us discovered that he had left his provision-bag behind. I suspected, at the time, that this was a piece of cunning, of which these people are by no means destitute; and, very shortly after, I was confirmed in my opinion by the Laplander who remained detaching the deer from the pulkas, and taking them to a neighbouring hill.

Here they were left to graze till the return of

\* About seven and a half English miles.

the improvident Wapphus, who made his second appearance five hours after. The interval was sufficient to try the patience of one more comfortably situated ; but to my companion, who could not sleep, the delay was particularly uncomfortable. The pulka is at no time a very commodious vehicle, being unprovided with a support for the shoulders, and as it is too short to lie in at full length, he was obliged to sit upright the whole time. For my part, that posture became soon so irksome, and I felt so inclined to sleep, that I lay over, with my head and shoulders on the snow, but well protected by a bearskin tippet, while the remainder of my person was incased in the sledge turned on its side, very much like a snail in its shell. In this way I soon forgot where I was, and, though I cannot say that I rose refreshed, I escaped the tedium of counting the minutes, and straining my ears to catch the clatterings of the returning reindeer's hoofs.

At last we moved again, and continued our course down the river. As well as I could judge by the uncertain twilight, the breadth of it could not be much less than a mile; but, though it did not wind much, and there were no impediments in the way, the track was so tortuous, that we were a dozen times close to either bank, in the course of as many English miles. This arises from the difficulty of getting a reindeer to go ahead in a straight line where there is no track, and I have observed that it is almost impossible to make those that follow correct the error. The consequence is, that if only six or seven sledges travel in company, they form a waving line like an S, and go over half as much ground again as a well-driven horse would.

We were on very high ground; and by the time that we approached the foot of the mountains, the day dawned. The most disagreeable part of the journey was now to be entered upon, for the country between Koutokeino and Alten

is uninhabited from the coldness and loftiness of its situation, and the track passes over the extremity of the chain of mountains that runs through Norway and Sweden. In these dreary regions the traveller rarely meets any one but the Laplander hurrying, like himself, with all his speed to a more moderate climate. In the more lofty mountains the native himself feels it impossible to remain. His herd finds little food beneath the snow, and the violence of the weather makes it dangerous even to cross them.

“Beyond the line of growth of the fir,” says a Swedish author, “at 1300 feet above the level of the sea, the birch alone produces a species of brushwood, bearing on its stunted trunk and knotty branches evidence of the rigour of the climate, and the impetuosity of the storms that prevail there. Before proceeding much farther the stranger will find even these trees so low that a mere turf will raise him sufficiently to

overlook them. Yet even beyond this point the Laplander will pitch his tent, induced by the quantity of lichen that is still to be found scarcely 800 feet from the perpetual frost. At 2100 feet the water contains no fish, and at 400 farther the dwarf birch entirely gives place to the lichens, and a few other plants, which keep on a faint struggle with the snow, till the height of 4300 feet above the sea, when the frost gains the ascendancy, and every sign of vegetation ceases. The naturalist and the white sparrow," continues he, "alone pass this line. Beyond it appear those enormous glaciers which present to the mind the idea of a tempestuous sea suddenly checked, and rendered immoveable by the frost." These remarks refer more particularly to the southern parts of Lulea Lapmark and the neighbourhood of Sulitelma, the loftiest mountain in Sweden. Its summit is 5541 feet above the level of the sea, and it owes its name, which signifies "Mountain of

the Feast," to the circumstance of the Laplanders formerly offering their sacrifices here to their god, Stourra Passe.

After proceeding along the river Alten, between sixteen and twenty miles, we left it to continue its course through ravines, and began the ascent of the mountains. The cold was intense, and the weather rather stormy; but, fortunately the wind blew on our backs, and except when a sudden turn presented our sides to the blast, we escaped much inconvenience. A few seconds, however, in this situation was sufficient to cover our faces with a mask of congealed drift, and form icicles from our eyelashes. At one time the wind rose to a whirlwind, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we could keep in sight of one another. We stopped twice in the course of the day, but found no moss, and were obliged to proceed without feeding the deer. This, of itself, was annoyance enough to the Laplanders, and I was struck at the remark



of the elder one, that the intensity of the cold and hardness of the snow, made the draught much heavier.

After the short interval of daylight the journey became very wearisome ; as, besides the cattle being hungry and tired, a mist arose which prevented us forming any idea of any thing around us. Occasionally, this dispersed for a short time, and gave way to brilliant northern lights, which buoyed up our spirits till the disheartening darkness returned, and left us in the unpleasant position which we feel in a dream, when a fantastic change takes place, and we are unaccountably transported from a scene of splendour to dreary wastes and darkness.

From a reverie of this kind we were roused by several voices which we heard around us, but we were some time discovering whence they arose. At length, we distinguished dim forms of reindeer, which extended on each side of us as far as the eye could pierce the haze, and we

learned that they belonged to a train of two hundred sledges that were crossing the mountains, conveying merchandise from the coast to the interior. Caravans of this kind are continually traversing the country, which could not be supplied at any other season of the year, as the reindeer is of little use for carrying burdens. Each reindeer draws two hundred pounds' weight after him, and a string of ten requires the care of only one man; they are each tied to the sledge that precedes them, and follow in Indian file.

The usual way in which a reindeer evinces his fatigue now began to show itself. The leader who drew the Wapphus's sledge kept continually running off the track, and as often the driver was obliged to jump out and drag him by the rein into the right road. As the whole suite followed every step of the leader, on several occasions the tail of the train got entangled with its head, and more than once the reindeer

that formed the centre were taken off their legs by a sudden jerk from those before and behind them, and dragged some fifty yards on their sides. One awkward deer, I remember, got the thong that held him entangled round both one of his antlers and forefoot, and in this helpless state was carried along, half throttled, till he was released by the horn breaking off.

At last, after an indefinite number of hours, we reached our halting-place. Winding a watch, or even taking it out of the pocket was quite out of the question, as the hands became frostbitten by exposure without gloves, even for a few minutes. Considering however that we had travelled seventy miles since morning, it could not be less than eleven or twelve o'clock when we heard the welcome news that we had finished our day's work. I was dozing at the time, keeping just sufficiently awake to balance the sledge, when we came to a standstill, and the Wapphus released my

deer ; as the thong which I steered him by was twisted round my wrist, I was soon thoroughly awakened by his half hauling me out of the pulka, inside which I was laced by cross ropes.

I naturally looked round to survey my resting-place for the night, but was some time before I discovered a sort of circular trench within which the ground rose to an apex, perhaps three feet higher than the surrounding plain. By this time the Wapphus having disengaged my companion offered to conduct us to the "gamma," as it is called in Finmark. In the side of the trench, upon closer examination, there appeared a doorway, about four feet high, which led into a vestibule of corresponding grandeur. When I had crept into this place, for the accumulation of snow inside made it impossible to enter in a more dignified manner, I found a little door which opened into a room about twelve feet square. The roof sloped up to an opening

in the middle, which served to let the smoke out. Four upright posts with crosstrees occupied the centre, where the fire was to be made, and the kettles to be hung.

The traveller must, indeed, have been fastidious who could have been dissatisfied with these arrangements, or thought that the state had not done enough in providing this refuge for strangers. At the time, I recollect, I was most thankful, and felt delighted at finding that we had picked up several companions who intended to halt at the same place. These were Laplanders and Finlanders, journeying, like us, to the coast, and accoutred in the same way. There lay a good deal of snow about the floor of the room, but there was little danger of its thawing, as, notwithstanding a large fire which was speedily made with brushwood collected in the neighbourhood, the thermometer showed more than fifteen degrees of cold of Reaumur.

When the company had sat down round the

blaze, the kettles were brought out, and frozen reindeer's meat chopped up, and partially thawed. A very substantial meal of meat and broth was soon prepared, and several long pulls at the brandy-bottles took off the chill from the party. They soon became very talkative, and the only thing I had to regret was not being able to enter into conversation with them. I had brought a bottle of port wine from Tornea, and it had hitherto escaped unhurt amid the perils of all kinds that had threatened it. The moment was now arrived when its strengthening powers were to be put to the test, but, alas, it cracked just as I had succeeded in thawing it, and my companions and I were obliged to substitute snow-water, out of a greasy wooden ladle that had served for baling out the Wapphus's broth.

As for the reindeer, they were left to pick up the moss in the neighbourhood, their owners only taking the precaution to leave the halter

and trace on them. Beyond this, they gave no more trouble than if they had not existed, and the guides returned to the "gamma," where they did ample justice to their fare. It has been remarked that the Greenlanders can devour an extraordinary quantity of food at a sitting, and their brethren, the Laplanders, who resemble them, in other respects, probably do not yield the palm to them in this. Before drinking they took the precaution of warming, or at least taking the chill off their corn brandy in a saucepan, a practice which I have since observed to be much in use among them. The addition of pipes and tobacco put them into particularly good humour, and doubtless much wit was bandied about, for laughing became the order of the day.

Now that the cravings of hunger were appeased, and each had wedged in his body so as to have a sight of the fire, we became sensible of one inconvenience which, however grave, had as yet

been unnoticed. The fresh fuel collected in the neighbourhood caused a most awful smoke. Every part of the gamma was filled with it, and it was impossible to sit in comfort; as for standing up, it was out of the question, as there was immediate danger of being stifled. Once or twice I was obliged to rush out into the open air, but was soon driven back to the hut by the bitterness of the cold.

Nothing, however, could inconvenience the natives, and gradually the labours of the day, aided by their potations, sent them to sleep. The group was curious, and I never saw a heap of human bodies jumbled together in such glorious confusion. As the area of the gamma, unoccupied by the embers, was far from sufficient for the number who required a place, many lay with others piled on their legs, and with their faces within a very few inches of the fire. My companion showed no inclination to talk, and finding by the snoring that every one had betaken himself to sleep, I followed the



example of the rest, and soon forgot the troubles of the day.

When I awoke, the fire was out, and the remains of last night's supper frozen hard in the kettles. My limbs were stiff with cold, and ached from the uncomfortable position in which I had passed the night. By the light that came through the hole in the roof, I perceived the day must have been far advanced, and some indications of preparing for departure were apparent. The interior of the room was now visible, and the light did not improve my ideas of the comforts of the place. The whole of the ground round the fire was covered with snow, and icicles hung from the roof. Some time was spent in settling who should go in search of the cattle, as no one seemed inclined to leave their breakfast. At last the youngest of the party fastened on his long snow-shoes, and in a few minutes after was scarcely visible, sliding in the distance.

The weather had hitherto been fine, though

intensely cold, and we were lucky in being able to leave the Gamma so soon. Travellers are often detained there three or four days by a sudden fall of snow, or a violent head-wind. Not unfrequently, when overtaken by a storm, they are unable to reach this or any other refuge, and are obliged to bury themselves in the snow, and remain thus imbedded till the return of moderate weather. The pulkas are piled on the weather side, and with this slight shelter they contrive to defend themselves against the cold, and wait in comparative warmth till they can proceed.

Near Sollivara is the highest point in the pass between Koutokeino and the sea. A beautiful scene now opened to the sight, and lofty mountains towered in the distance, presenting various fantastic forms. As the descent is far more precipitous on this side than on the southern that slopes gradually to Tornea, it was considered advisable to fasten the spare

reindeer to the sterns of our sledges, that they might act as drags and prevent the pulkas outstripping the animals attached ahead of them; an evolution which constantly takes place where the snow is hard, and the track runs obliquely down the mountains. Not even the most expert driver can always prevent this ridiculous exhibition; and serious accidents might happen in this part of the way by the sledges being carried down precipices, were not the precaution of the second deer resorted to. As soon as we reached the bottom we found a difference in the vegetation, that could be scarcely expected. Instead of the slight bushes near Koutokeino, we found ourselves in a thickly-wooded valley and a pleasanter temperature than we had felt since leaving Tornea. The rapidity of the descent seemed to have instilled fresh vigour into the reindeer, and they flew along, regardless of such obstacles as trees or rocks. Nothing could check them; but as we drove madly for-

ward, however, my deer nearly killed me by starting at a fir-tree and bounding forward. The pulka was dashed against the trunk, and any thing constructed less substantially must have been broken to pieces. Luckily the trace broke, the animal bounded off, and I narrowly escaped having all the remaining reindeer and their sledges pass over my shoulders.

The accident was soon repaired, and we galloped on till we came to a ravine completely sheltered by a vast ridge of rocks, and filled with trees larger than I had met with since leaving Muonio Niska. We here stopped to rest the cattle, and give them an opportunity of making up for the scanty feed they had had in the mountains the preceding day. My companion and I were in hopes that the halt would not have exceeded a couple of hours' duration, and that, as we were not more than twenty miles from the coast, we should be able to reach Alten Gaard in the night. The Laplanders, however,

were of a different opinion, and declared that it was impossible to advance for the next twelve hours, as their beasts were starving. Every inducement was resorted to in vain, and the only one of the party who understood Norwegian, answered all my remonstrances by saying, "Father, we will be there to-morrow." There was no alternative but to prepare for a second night in the same agreeable company, and, by way of variety, we lay this one in the open air. There was, indeed, a small gamma in the neighbourhood, but it was considered inexpedient to make use of it, as it was in a very dilapidated state. Several buildings that have been erected by the government for the same purpose, have been rendered useless by travellers burning the doors and posts, to save themselves the trouble of cutting down wood at a short distance from them.

The place selected for the halt was under a rock, which screened us from the wind;

when the snow had been scooped away from the bottom of it, and thrown up in the form of a rampart, we found that the place was far from uncomfortable. Half a dozen small trees were soon felled and split ; a glorious fire was lighted, and the provisions produced and devoured with the same avidity that had been displayed at Sollivara. When the supper was concluded, a few additional logs were thrown on the fire, and the Laplanders betook themselves to sleep on the snow. The night was beautiful, one of those still moments when the aurora-borealis takes the place of the moon, and covers the sky with one sheet of variegated light. When we awoke again the fire was out, the remains of the soup was a frozen mass, and the slumbers of the Laplanders were so like those of the seven sleepers, that we despaired of rousing them to rekindle the fire. By chance we found the axes that had been so vigorously used the night before, and, with their help, brought down some

fresh fuel; it was long, however, before we could prepare our breakfast of meat, and, when it was ready, we were trotting down the river Alten.

CHAPTER XII.

---

Bosekope—Kaaiford copper-mine—Anecdote of a Laplander and a bear—Reindeer cheese and milk—Œstrus Tarandi—The pastor of Koutokeino—A Lapland beauty.

WE had lost sight of the sun while at Munio Niska, but had had a peep at him shortly before coming to Koutokeino, which is very elevated. He had also been visible from Solli-  
vara at twelve o'clock; but now that we had descended the northern side of the mountains, not even his rays were visible. The nights,



however, were beautiful ; not only the stars shone out with a fire and brilliancy unknown in more southern climates ; the aurora-borealis also helped to enliven the scene, and made the long Lapland night far brighter than a dull day in London during winter. It has been said that this phenomenon is often accompanied by a sound resembling that of the cracking of a whip. I have had frequent opportunities in Iceland of witnessing the beauty of the Norther Ljos, as it is there called ; I also, in January, 1837, saw in the State of Vermont a most beautiful and powerful aurora ; the sky on that occasion displayed but one colour, the most lovely pink ; but I never had the luck to hear any sound accompany it.

Our progress down the river Alten was impeded by the looseness of the snow ; there was little of it at the time, and the deer not being shod, had no hold on the ice. Some parts were bare, and nothing but actual blows could make

the poor animals struggle over the slippery surface. As we approached the Alten Fiord, the banks rose in height, and confined the river between vast rocks. At last the sea appeared, unfettered by frost, and presenting, from the contrast of the surrounding shores, a colour as black as ink. We passed many houses that bore a more comfortable appearance than those of Koutokeino ; they belonged to Qucæner, who have settled in the neighbourhood, and keep cattle. We here shook off our companions, and proceeded alone to the head of the Fiord. Behind a large projecting rock, "a handelsted," or trading-place, called Bosekope, has been established.

The sight of a civilized habitation was most cheering to us, and we hurried our beasts towards it. There were evident signs of a road, though it lay far beneath us ; an avenue, at least, was visible. Before long we were snugly ensconced in the house of Madame Dorethy

Klerk, having had our last roll down an icy hill a few yards from it. Madame Klerk has the monopoly of Bosekope; during the time that Norway belonged to Denmark, the king possessed the exclusive right of trade in many harbours, as he also did in Iceland, and does now in the Feroe Islands and Greenland. In Norway it appears that these rights were sold to individuals, and Alten Gaard, among others, changed masters, and eventually came into the hands of the merchant, whose widow now lives there. The possession is, however, not without condition. The owner of Bosekope is bound to keep the inn, and to find accommodation for all travellers. The duty is, of course, not very onerous; in many cases I should think it agreeable, as the arrival of a stranger in such a remote quarter must form an epoch.

Being on the coast, every thing that we wanted was to be had; a warm clean room, and a change from the Lapland habiliments to

European attire, soon restored us completely, and we descended into the sitting-room. We here found the mistress of the house and her daughter, and a young doctor and his wife from Christiania, who had been sent down by the government to superintend an hospital for lepers. As it was only ten o'clock when we arrived, it was not too late to make a hearty breakfast, and a table ready laid out presented variety enough, and would have tempted appetites that had not been sharpened by the keen air of the mountains.

The house is two stories high, and overlooks a long bay, surrounded with mountains, at the mouth of which the little town of Hammerfest is situated on one island. From Alten to the North Cape, in the Isle of Mageroe, the distance is traversed by water, and is about fourteen Norse miles. Nord Kung, near Wardoe Hus, more to the east, used to be considered the most northern point; yet, though the difference of

latitude is trifling, it is now allowed to be in favour of the North Cape. The island of Mageroe is inhabited by a Laplander who has a hut a mile and a half from the most northern headland. In winter, the approach to it is impossible, as there is much ice about it, and the inlets that connect it with the mainland are exposed to all the fury of the icy sea from Spitzbergen. At no season, even in summer, can the time required for the journey be fixed. I have heard of a person being six weeks on his return to Hammerfest, when only seven Norse miles from it. Having, therefore, crossed the whole of Lapland, I was satisfied with limiting my journey to the seventieth degree. My companion, however, determined to pass the remainder of the winter at Hammerfest, and, after seeing the North Cape, to take the first opportunity of proceeding to Spitzbergen with one of the vessels employed in the catching of walrus.

In the mean time we received an invitation

from some of our countrymen, the directors of a copper-mine at Kaafjord, an inlet on the opposite side of the bay. We accordingly embarked in a large open boat, rigged in the old Norse fashion, with the mast loose, and a single lug-sail. It was the 26th of January, yet no ice whatever was visible in the bay. The coldness of the weather, however, was apparent from the steam that rose like smoke from the water. We passed several "gammer," or huts, of the fishing Laplanders; they are miserable hovels, not lofty enough for the inmates to stand up in them, and more filthy than the tents of the mountaineers. As we sailed into the inlet, we found ourselves enclosed within lofty rocks, and came to a patch of level ground, where we landed. This piece extends a good way in the rear, and contains the copper-works and the dwellings of the miners, who we were told amounted to eleven hundred. On our way to the manager's house, we passed a small church

built of timber, used by the people in the employment of the company. It is a neat Gothic edifice, surrounded by a cemetery where the Finn, the Norwegian, and the Swede find a common resting-place. Fourteen years back, this spot was uninhabited; it now presents the agreeable spectacle of an industrious community, located in buildings far better than those in the surrounding country, and exhibiting no sign of want.

The ore is taken out of the sides of the mountains, and thus is easily conveyed by small tramways to the smelting-houses. I observed many Finnish women among the labourers, and was told that they were by no means the most unprofitable work-people. Having spent a very pleasant evening with the directors, we returned next day to Bosekope. On our way, we went into the mine, and saw the various processes that were going on in the smelting-house. There were few Englishmen; those employed

being chiefly the overseers and head men. The extremity of the frith was frozen hard, but not so far as to prevent our landing in a convenient place. On our way across the Alten fiord, we passed the clergyman of Koutokeino in a much smaller boat than our own, and even more rudely rigged.

The time ran so agreeably at Bosekope, that I should have been happy to have spent some more time there; and had I not determined to be back in Stockholm early in the spring, I would have felt inclined to remain a month longer. The weather was far milder than at Muonio Niska; indeed I cannot say that it was disagreeably cold. The severest blasts are here from the south, and as long as the wind does not come down from the mountains the temperature is very bearable. The evenings did not appear very long, being enlivened by the company of the Foged of West Finmark, who lives in the neighbourhood, and Madame Klerk's son, and



two or three young men who came over from Kaafjord ; so that for a time there was nothing to fear on the score of *ennui*. The life of the Norwegian Finmarkers is by no means so hard as from the position of their country it would be supposed to be. On the contrary, the easy merchant spends his time rather luxuriously ; the weather may be occasionally bad, but that will give an opportunity of enjoying his comfortable stove, and at that time there will be little to require his attention out of doors. They are of a lively disposition, and, when they meet together, the smallness of their parties is made up for by the hilarity that reigns in them.

I saw several of the coast Laplanders while at Alten, and they struck me as a wretched set of men, for the fur clothes of their brethren of the mountains increase their size beyond what it really is. I was told, while here, that they have a superstitious belief that the bear understands their language.

An anecdote illustrative of it was told me at Bosekope by a trader. Two Laplanders, while hunting, unexpectedly met a bear; Bruin was of very respectable dimensions, sufficient to strike terror into the hearts of both heroes. The one took to his heels, and left the other to settle affairs as he might best with the "old man in the hairy coat." The latter gentleman rose on his legs and began to lavish his endearments on the remaining man, and to paw him rather uncereemoniously, at which he called out to the bear, "Are you not ashamed to hurt your countryman?" The bear, feeling no doubt the incivility of his conduct, gave a growl and left him. "Did you speak to him in Norwegian?" inquired the trader, "No! in Laponic to be sure;" answered the other, "else how would he have understood what I said to him?"

After a short stay at Bosekope, I again turned my face to the southward, and left Alten; but through the slippery tricks of the men who

had brought us from Koutokeino, I was very nearly left behind to wait till a fresh supply of reindeer could be sent from that place, for none are to be found nearer to Alten-Gaard. These worthies, while under the persuasion of brandy, had been most lavish of their promises, and agreed to take me back again. They, however, very soon lost all recollection of their engagements, and let out their reindeer to somebody else. Remonstrance was of no use: they only contradicted one another every time they spoke, and asked for more brandy. The elder of the two, a man seventy-six years of age, who had accompanied King Louis Philippe to the North Cape, was a particularly difficult man to deal with, and shifted his ground a dozen times in the arguments, yet his appearance was so ludicrous that it was impossible to be angry with him. The pastor of Koutokeino here stepped in, and kindly offered to lend me one of his own deer, and, as I had but little luggage,

he found a man who agreed to take it with his own. Indeed, my chief desire to start at that time arose from a wish to avail myself of the company of the clergyman across the mountains.

He was a Norwegian of much information, and very partial to every thing English. As all ecclesiastical benefices are in the gift of the government in Norway, the younger clergymen are first appointed to the most remote livings, and after some six or seven years' residence in these hyperborean regions, are transferred to other parishes more desirable in point of climate. Some parishes, however, are not so bad in regard to revenue. The living of Talvick, in which Kaaflord is situated, produces, in years when the fishery succeeds, about three thousand specie dollars, equivalent to six hundred pounds a year. My new acquaintance had begun his career by the lowest step of the ladder, for his parish is the most northern in the world. Hap-

pening to ask him, whether he did not find his duty very laborious, "My parish," said he, "is probably larger than many German principalities. The North Cape and Koutokeino, which are 240 miles apart, are both within its limits; my life resembles much that of a skipper, for I am more than half the year away from my family, travelling over deserts, and living amongst half-savages." Yet, with all these disadvantages, he seemed a contented, and was certainly a very good-humoured gentleman.

All our arrangements having been made, we got under way, accompanied by a host of Finlanders, who were returning from Hammerfest to different parts of North Bothnia. The presence of two or three Norwegians I found peculiarly useful in awakening the dormant energies of the Laplanders, who now became far more expeditious in their movements than on the way to the North. We remounted the river Alten, and without making a halt at the scene of the

former bivouac, we began the ascent of the mountains on foot. The delays of starting had been so many, that before we left the river night had set in. At first we allowed our beasts to follow each other in Indian file, till one of the Laplanders marked that we had crossed the track of a wolf. On the alarm being given, every one rushed forward and recovered hold of his reindeer, for the appearance or even scent of a single wolf would have been sufficient to put the whole caravan into confusion. The night was still, and the aurora borealis lighted up the whole expanse of the sky, but it is doubtful whether it would have been possible to prevent their total dispersion; and the recovery of the frightened animals that night would have been very problematical, as there was nothing to confine them in any direction but ravines.

I continued my walk by the side of the priest, who proved an amusing companion, and did not limit his conversation to any particular subject.

Among other things, he talked about Childe Harold, which he had read in the original. It was not exactly a place to discuss the beauties of that poem, yet he astonished me more by a query, which I must leave to better judges to decide—no less than, whether Madame Vestris's legs deserved the praise that had been bestowed on them! With that, and other more serious conversation about the British and Norwegian constitutions, a source of continual comparisons in his country, we beguiled our way till we again entered our sledges, and about the middle of the night arrived at the gamma, at Sol-livara.

Owing to the kindness of my countrymen at Kaaifiord, my provision-bag was in better condition than on my former visit to the hut. A small keg of rum that I had procured at Alten made the rounds of the civilized part of the company, and a bottle of brandywine, which I intrusted to the care of a Laplander, was

warmed, and speedily tossed off by him and his mates. A valuable addition to my stock was some reindeer cheese, which, from its richness, seldom freezes, and forms a most substantial meal. It is also most useful when burnt, and applied to a frostbitten part, for it prevents the cold entering farther into the flesh. The cheeses are made in circular cakes, an inch thick; they are semi-transparent, and have but little flavour. Reindeer milk I have also occasionally eaten, from curiosity more than preference, and have found it so greasy as to be almost like melted butter. On their journies, the Laplanders generally carry a supply of it frozen, in a bladder, and break off pieces as they want it.

Shortly after we had halted, it was discovered that two of the reindeer, belonging to a poor man from Koutokeino, were so exhausted as to leave no hope of their recovery; and, as was expected, they died within an hour. Sixty miles a day continued for three or four, has generally been



considered the utmost trial that their exertions can be put to. After a journey of that length, the Laplanders, who have a herd to pick from, rarely use the same deer again that winter. In the present instance they had been hard driven from Koutokeino to Alten, and had scarcely had any rest before they set out on their return. The owner was not satisfied with what the Norwegian offered him for waiting till he should return himself, and induced by the love of company, had immediately followed us, and had not spared his cattle, which were in very poor condition.

The average life of the reindeer is about sixteen years, an age at which few arrive, as they are fattened and killed when they begin to fall off in speed; many that I have driven, and found very good, were thirteen and fourteen years old. The Laplanders, in many parts, dislike selling them alive to the Swedes, and insist on slaughtering them themselves in their

own way. This they do by striking them in the breast with a small sharp-pointed knife, which they leave in the wound, thereby preventing any external effusion of blood. The stricken deer is left loose, and after trembling a few seconds falls down dead. The carcass is then opened, and the blood collected in the chest is taken out for use.

It is only during winter that these animals enjoy any comfort, as even moderate cold is insufficient for their nature. The great heat of their northern summer subjects them to much pain, and brings with it their special plague in the form of a gadfly (*æstrus tarandi*). Linnæus, in his *Flora Lapponica*, describes the mode in which this insect tortures the reindeer. About the beginning of July the latter shed their coats, at which time the hair on the back is erect. The *æstrus* flutters the whole day over the herd, and takes the opportunity of dropping on them an egg, scarcely the size of a mustard

seed. The state of the coat at this season favours its admission, and protected by the heat of the part, a larva is produced that finds its way into the flesh, and continues there the winter, increasing to the bulk of an acorn. As the warm weather comes on, it becomes restive, and worries the poor animals almost to madness. till it has eaten its way through the skin. Six or eight of these tormentors, and sometimes even more, fall to the share of each deer; the young ones, after their first winter, are most subject to their attacks, and Linnæus adds that a third or fourth part of the calves fall victims to this complaint, which is known among the inhabitants by the name of kurbma. As soon as an œstrus is observed fluttering about, the greatest confusion exhibits itself in the herd; they fly from the obnoxious insect running against the wind, and driving from them any unfortunate individual who has received the unlucky windfall. While suffering under the irritation of the gnawing,

they rush madly into the sea, and feel some relief while under water. On this account, many of the Laplanders keep near the shores of the Icy Sea during the summer, and only return to the interior about September.

The scene presented by a herd crossing a lake, or from one island to the other is curious; one or two deer are carried over in a boat with the Lapland family, and the remainder, often several hundred in number, follow swimming. The skins of a moudda that I bought at Koutokeino, which are of choice young calves, are full of the punctures of the *œstrus*, many large enough to admit the little finger through them.

The hair of the reindeer is uncommonly thick, yet very loose, and I have seen no fur that is less durable. In winter the sides of the animal acquire a grayish tinge that gives them the appearance of having been chafed. The mode used by the natives for dressing the skins is very rude; the fat is merely removed and train-

oil rubbed in, and this process makes the neighbourhood of a person clad in a moudda disagreeably perceptible to the nose in any temperature above zero.

The next morning we continued our journey, and scarcely halted before we reached the foot of the mountains. Here we rested a few hours by the side of a fire, and indulged in a warm supper *à la belle étoile*, and then moved on to Koutokeino. The last ten miles I travelled most disagreeably, as my harness became entangled, and in my endeavours to adjust it I was thrown out from the rest of the company. In some parts the river Alten is rather wide, and as the whole was covered with snow, it was not easy to find the way. My reindeer was tired, and consequently refractory; he made a thrust at me with his horns every time I tried to unravel the thong that was twisted round them. At last, finding it useless to combat his will, and being in that most dis-

agreeable state of drowsiness that is produced by cold and hunger, I left him to his own guidance, and eventually arrived at my journey's end half an hour after the rest. It is said that reindeer can hear the clattering of each other's hoofs at a great distance, and are this way guided when in the dark. The sound is very peculiar, yet they must be very sharp of hearing if they can notice it a hundred yards off. It is produced by the cloven hoofs striking each other very quickly on the foot being drawn out of the snow and contracted.

The pastor was come to Koutokeino to pay his mountain parishioners a month's visit, for the double purpose of confirming the younger portion and collecting his dues. There is some difficulty in preparing them for the former rite, as they have to be taught to read Norwegian first. This impediment will, however, be soon overcome by the labours of a Norwegian priest, who has prepared an alphabet, which includes all

the sounds that are met with in the language of the Laplanders.

The priest has a house built for him in Koutokeino, in which his predecessor lived with his family, but it is too lofty to be well warmed. After he had preached a sermon in the little wooden church I went to pay him a visit, and found him surrounded by several men and women who had come from the country around to settle their accounts with him. On this score each chief of a family pays yearly one haunch and shoulder, with the skin, tongue, and suet of a reindeer, besides fees for baptism and marriage. As each individual laid his offering at the feet of the clergyman, he was presented with a dram, and I marked that the women were those who objected least to this part of the proceeding.

While I was waiting a couple came to be betrothed; a form which, when gone through before a clergyman, has almost the validity of

a marriage ; at least, neither party can contract a new engagement, without a divorce. The damsel's charms were somewhat lessened by a squint of a most determined kind. I at once made up my mind that she must be wealthy, and pondered what sized herd could compensate for her obliquity of vision. I was, however, mistaken, for the worthy schoolmaster, in answer to my inquiries, laconically answered " Not much reindeer."

After staying a few days at Koutokeino, I procured a fresh Wapphus, and drove in a south-westerly direction, intending to return by Kallisovando. The country I now travelled over, though mountainous, was far superior to the part I came from. The bushes began to have the appearance of trees, and afford some shelter from the wind. As yet birch alone was to be seen, yet the elegant form of that tree, incrustated with ice, did not make me regret the absence of the never-varying fir, which gives monotony to the country farther south.



I lay once more on the floor of a Lapland fisherman's hut on the way, and cooked some reindeer tongues for supper. The owner was out, and the place was tenanted only by a hag that realized all my ideas of a sorceress, ready to raise a storm or sell a wind. Her face, dark brown, and wrinkled from the combined action of dirt, smoke, and hard weather, showed her to be of the genuine Sami breed. Her chin was peaky, and, with her sharp prominent cheekbones, formed a well-defined triangle. Her hair was concealed beneath a red cloth cap, which terminated in what resembled a horse's hoof turned upwards, and a belt studded with silver stars confined round her waist a moudda, from which the hair was worn off in front, and which displayed a shining surface, polished by the frequent wiping of her hands. In the corner of the room something moved, but whether dogs or children, or both, the uncertain light from the hearth did not allow me to distinguish, and the smell that pervaded the whole place did

not invite a closer inspection of that particular spot.

Not speaking any thing but her native language, she spared me the witchery of her tongue ; but, seeing my raw victuals, she brought me a small fryingpan and wooden ladle, taking the precaution to lick the latter by way of ridding it of grease. As the savoury smell of the thawing meat became perceptible, a dozen half-starved dogs, somewhat like those of the Esquimaux, crowded round me, and eyed me and my food alternately. A battle ensued for the remains, and each showed so much voracity, and seemed so unused to eating, that it became doubtful whether they would not devour one another by mistake. In the mean time the deer were supplied with moss collected and stacked for winter use by the people. When they were refreshed, I put a silver coin into the hand of the dame, which brought a horrible grin on her features, and I bade her adieu.

It was now midnight, and the following

evening I was at the house of Pastor Listadius, of Kallisovando. Finding I could now proceed with horses, I discharged the Wapphus, and determined to exchange my pulka for a Finnish sledge.

Pastor Listadius was away from home when I arrived at Kallisovando;\* his wife, however, who was the only individual who spoke Swedish, asked me to stay a short time and take some dinner before I moved on. The clergyman's house is the only one at the place, but it is composed of so many buildings, and seemed to contain so many inmates, that it might easily be mistaken for a little village. It is entirely built of wood, and presents the first return to civilized life after quitting the sea-coast. I was, therefore, glad to avail myself of Fru Listadius's invitation, and rest an hour. During dinner, she told me that her husband and she had lived twelve years in this wild "Pastorat." Before

\* Sovando, in Finnish, means the part of a river free from rapids.

their coming to it, they had been as many years in a living in Lulea Lapmark, on a spot even more removed from the occasional track of strangers than Kallisovando. It appears, however, that being an ardent botanist and entomologist, the pastor does not feel the seclusion of the situation as much as might be expected, and by long custom has become attached to this part of the country. This shows how far the force of habit can overcome every thing in this world, for a more dreary spot to be condemned to live in, I should think no easy task to find. In Iceland the clergy are, in many respects, no better situated, yet their neighbours are of the same race as themselves, and intelligent ; here Laplanders must form the class with which the clergyman must be in constant communication, and a more disagreeable set of parishioners I cannot well imagine.

In such a location, the income of the pastor ought to be proportionably great, in some way to compensate for the dreadful climate ; yet I

believe the case is far otherwise. The produce of these "pastorats" is a mere pittance, and, in many instances, inadequate to the support of a clergyman, unless he has recourse to other employments, and even then he will be enabled to live only in the simplest way. Being paid much less than the Norwegians, the priests in this part of Sweden, I have been told, are often obliged to make glue from reindeer horns, and to descend to other shifts, which their wealthier neighbours would scorn to resort to. Far worse, however, is the treatment of the clergy in Finland, where they are ordered about from one parish to another at the word of the consistory of Abo, much as soldiers would be. The frequent changes in the ministers of Muonio Niska that had taken place within the last three years, were pointed out to me, and I was much astonished that the salaries of the incumbents could suffice for the long journies they were obliged to undertake.

I discharged the reindeer, and was supplied

with a horse and sledge similar to the one I had left in Muonio Niska. I could now sleep at my ease, while a stout Finlander drove me along the rivers, and, in the course of seventy miles, met with three houses, at which I changed horses. At one place, called Pallajocki, a little Laplander, upon the strength of understanding a few words of Swedish, insisted upon talking to me, chiefly in his own tongue; and it was ridiculous to mark what airs the man of two languages gave himself. With some difficulty I got rid of this intruder; not, however, before I had threatened him very intelligibly with a forcible ejection.

About the middle of next day I passed Muonio Niska, and, resuming my own sledge, moved on to Happaranda; as I proceeded to the southward every mile lengthened the day, and, on approaching Tornea, was particularly struck at the great length of twilight in the north. The sun was on the point of setting as

I passed an inn twenty-one miles from Happaranda, yet his beams were still visible as I entered the town. The pace at which I travelled was not slow, but, including two stoppages in the distance, the time could not be much under three hours.

I now wished to return along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Bothnia, and cross over from Abo by Aland. I accordingly presented myself to the burgomaster of Tornea, and showed him a passport countersigned by the Swedish authorities, but he refused to sign it himself. He, however, told me that I might proceed as far as Wasa (some two hundred miles), and try if the governor would give me new passports; but, as he added that it was not improbable that I should be sent back, if the governor should not be pleased with me, I thought it, on the whole, more advisable to return through West Bothnia.

I now retraced my steps along the same road

that I had passed before in December, and, having nothing to detain me, travelled day and night. The cold was much greater; yet there had fallen but little snow. In the neighbourhood of Skelleftea, I met with herds of reindeer that had come down from the Lulea mountains for the winter. These incursions are not much relished by the Swedish peasant, who finds his land overrun with deer and not greatly improved by them. Farther to the south, I passed a few straggling Laplanders, but all appearing far poorer than those in the north. At last, after eight days and nights of incessant travelling, I entered Stockholm, having gone over two thousand seven hundred miles. The journey itself, though performed in the depth of winter, and in a most wild country, had possessed so many charms from its novelty, that I had never felt any fatigue; but, as I approached the capital, I found that if the cold was not so great I was at least more sensitive of it. Near



Upsala, one of my cheeks was entirely frost-bitten, and but for timely notice from the man who accompanied me the part might have mortified. For some months after my return to England, the spot most affected retained marks of chill, and remained, externally, perfectly white. To protect the nose is even more difficult, as the breath proceeding from it forms large icicles that add to the cold.

Stockholm presented a far more lively scene than when I had left it. The dull rainy weather had given place to a clear blue sky, and cheerful appearance both in men and inanimate things. The streets were resplendent with the tracks of the sledges that flew in every direction, and a degree of gaiety was added by the incessant jingle of the bells that ornament the horses at this season. The endless variety of pelisses, beginning with the martin and Astrakan fur of the dandies, and ending with the dogskins of the Norlander and the sheepskins of the Dale-

carlian, make the winter costume even more diversified than the brighter hues worn in summer.

During that season the place outside the town most frequented for walking and driving is the royal park of Djur Garden, situated in an island in sight of Stockholm. Close to it are the buildings in which the gun-boats are housed, ready to be launched at a moment's warning. The entry is further protected from the sea by the Castle of Waxholm, a few miles from the town on the Salt Lake. Djur Garden has many attractions in the shape of a theatre and circus for horsemanship, pretty drives and walks, and, not the least, are the guinguettes that border the road along it nearest Stockholm. These places on Sundays are crowded, and have a very gay appearance. A curious custom prevails here for the attendants, who are all females, to wear a peculiar head-dress in shape of a very diminutive skull-cap, to which are attached ornaments like the wings of a butterfly.

Riding is not very common in summer, and entirely disappears in winter, and the equipages that are to be seen in Djur Garden, at the best time, fall short of even the most mediocre that creep round Hyde Park in November. Even the queen's carriage, though drawn by six horses, would make but a sorry figure in that place. There is a want of taste in the build of the vehicle and the make of the harness, and want of neatness and freshness in the *tout ensemble*, that renders her majesty's turn-out inferior to the least dashing stage-coach that passes through Piccadilly.

On my return to Stockholm, I found that the winter was so severe that wild ducks flew about the town and swam under the Norrbro, the only part of the lake not frozen over. In Djur Gården, some "montagnes russes" had been erected, down which the dandies slid on small sledges at a fearful rate. Two scaffoldings, about forty or fifty feet high, are placed about a hundred yards apart; from each of

these an inclined plane, covered with blocks of ice, is run down at an angle of forty-five; and the speed with which the descent is begun is so great, that the cars are carried, without stopping, along the track to the opposite scaffolding.

## CHAPTER XIII.

---

Sorcery of the Laplanders.

THOUGH the Laplanders subject to the Swedish crown are brought up as Christians, and the few who are stationary at Koutokeino and on the coast have the advantage of teachers of their own race, yet the wandering life of the Fjäll Lappar, or those who live in the mountains, and the imperfect opportunities their pastors have of giving them religious instruction, must still leave them under the influence of

their ancient superstitions. Even in the most civilized countries, eighteen centuries have not sufficed to eradicate from the lower classes notions and superstitions that existed in the times of heathenism.

It is therefore a matter of no wonder that these people, who at best can but be imperfectly acquainted with even the outward forms of the new religion, should have retained and amalgamated with them many of the symbols of the old. This corruption, of course, must be found in a less degree in a Lutheran country than among those who belong to Russia, and border on the Asiatic tribes, that are downright pagans. Still, even in the Lapmarks, there is a belief in certain demons, whom the natives fancy wander among the mountains and lakes, and to whom they attribute the power of doing harm or good, and possessing great influence at stated times, such as Christmas.

Some attention has at different times been paid to their spiritual improvement by the

Swedes ; yet, in Gustaf Wasa's reign, many remained unbaptized, from a belief prevalent amongst them that they would die if they underwent that rite when adults. Nor could they be easily brought to believe in the resurrection, which was entirely beyond their comprehension. During the seventeenth century, thirteen churches were erected among them, and a school for the instruction of their children was founded at Pitea. To further their improvement, some books, containing the catechism and gospels, were printed at Stockholm in 1619. Twenty years later, a school was founded by Gustaf Adolph the Great, at Lyksele, in Umea Lapmark, yet none of these institutions prevented their retaining many portions of their ancient idolatry and belief in magic. To their pretended knowledge in the black art they chiefly owe the reputation they possessed ; and in old books we rarely meet the word Lapland, without its being accompanied with something relating to sorcery. Their personal

appearance, aided by their uncouth habiliments, were calculated to connect them in the minds of the ignorant with unearthly beings.

Throughout the northern mythology, the terrible is made to dwell in extremes, dwarfs are represented as powerful as giants, and the Laplanders being little known, easily acquired a reputation in a science which is most respected when least looked into. John Scheffer, an old author who writes in Latin, enters largely into their mythology, and to his history of Lapland I am chiefly indebted for what follows. His account is interspersed with quotations in Icelandic and Swedish, many of which are rendered rather obscure by the spelling, and by the antiquity of the terms. Tornœus is one of his chief authorities.

By all accounts, their most ancient god was Jumala, supposed to have been the Supreme Deity of the Skritt Finner. It was probably another name for Thoron, whom they worshipped in conjunction with two others, Stor-



junkare and Baive. This last god is supposed to be either the sun or fire, and was not represented by any figure. Thoron and Storjunkare are evidently names of Swedish extraction, and belong to the same idols as Ajeka, or great grandfather, and Stourra Passe, which signifies holy and great. Their images were called by the Laplanders "Seite," and varied in material according to the god, Ajeka's always being of wood, and Stourra Passe being represented under the figure of a stone.

Ajeka was adored as the author of life and supreme governor of men. His image was usually kept in a sort of rustic temple, formed of branches of fir and birch, and raised in the rear of their huts. A rude table in the middle of this sanctuary served at once for an altar, and a pedestal for the idol, which was the trunk of a birch-tree. In the choice of the material, a birch with a round root was sought out, as this part was the most convenient for representing a human head. A few strokes of

the hatchet completed the divinity, and he must, when accoutred, have displayed a most ludicrous appearance. Savages generally suppose that their gods have the same wants as themselves, and the Laplanders, to provide theirs with every comfort, drove a steel nail with a small flint into Ajeka's head, that he might strike a light whenever it pleased him to smoke. Behind him, and round the edge of the table, the horns of the deer that had been sacrificed to him were arranged in heaps, and immediately in front was placed a box filled with small pieces of flesh taken from every part of the victim, with grease melted over them.

Stourra Passe, the next deity, was supposed to preside over beasts and fishes, and may be considered a household god, for every family had an idol of him peculiar to itself, preserved either on some rock, or near a marsh. His figure was a rough stone, found in the mountains, and accidentally bearing some remote

likeness to a head. The Laplanders supposed such a stone to have been expressly fashioned by the god, that he might be worshipped under its form. It was raised on a little mound, and other smaller ones, found afterwards, were ranged around it. These last represented his family; the next largest to himself was called his wife, the third his son or daughter, and the rest his servants. To complete the whole, a semicircle of horns of male reindeer was formed behind the chief stone.

If we are to believe Regnard, a Frenchman, who travelled in this country in 1681, and on his return published an account of his journey, in which the marvellous is not lost sight of; the worship of Stourra Passe existed in his time in the part that belongs to Sweden. He mentions that he and his two travelling companions penetrated as far as the lake Torne-træsk, from whence the river Tornea takes its source.

They here found a small island, surrounded

by rapids, and almost inaccessible from the rocks and eddies in the stream. In this place, they had been told, the people of the province formerly offered sacrifices to a "Seita," or idol. On approaching the altar, they found a great heap of reindeers' horns, and the idols themselves behind them. The largest stone resembled nothing human, and seemed to have acquired its shape solely from the rush of the water. It was very greasy from a quantity of fat and blood that had been smeared over it. To the right of it four smaller stones were ranged in a line, and were pointed out to Regnard, by his native guides, as the wife, children, and servants of the Seita.

He also remarked, that all the stones, and particularly the largest, were laid on fresh birch twigs, and close by lay several square staves marked with some rude characters. The thickest and longest of these, he was told, was the staff which the Seita made use of on his journeys. This particular spot was noticed by Tornæus as a place of sacrifice, and he adds,

that in his time it was no longer frequented ; yet the marks of the blood that seemed recent, and the freshness of the leaves still adhering to the birch twigs, left no doubt on the minds either of Regnard or his companions that the Laplanders still worshipped idols in secret, though nominally Christians. The guides did not even deny the fact, but were unwilling to give further information on the subject to the travellers. That they believed in the power of the Seita was plainly evinced by their alarm, when Regnard attempted to carry away the stones. They expressed great dread of the vengeance of the offended god, and their fears were much relieved when they found that Regnard desisted from his intended spoliation, which the weight and greasiness of the whole family made rather difficult.

Their sacrifices were generally made at the fall of the year, and none but men were allowed to officiate, or even be present at them. At the same time they usually erected a new statue

to Ajeka, who was allowed one every year. Before proceeding further they prudently examined, by means of their magic drum, whether the deer intended to be sacrificed would prove acceptable to the deity. The solution of this doubt was obtained by fastening to one of their magic rings a few hairs stripped from the neck of the victim, and laying them on the drum-head, which was then beaten by one of the party. If the ring from the concussion should turn about and point to the figure of the deity which was to be propitiated, it was considered an infallible sign that he was well pleased with the oblation. But if it remained motionless, notwithstanding the agitation of the drum, they presented it to some other god, and renewed the ceremony and said another prayer.

There was little difference in the mode of sacrificing to Ajeka, or Stourra Passe. In both cases, the presentation of the horns, and the smearing the idol with fresh blood was the

leading feature ; but as the second deity sometimes preferred taking up his residence in mountains and crags that were too steep to be easy of access, in such cases, his votaries offered the victim at the foot, and afterwards threw a stone dipped in the blood as far in the direction of the top of the mountain as they could. By this ceremony they imagined that they had fully acquitted themselves of the duty they owed to the Stourra Passe of the place. They also ranged young pine and birch branches upon the consecrated stones twice a year, using the former in summer and the latter in winter. While engaged in this act of devotion they judged by the weight of the stone, and the facility with which it was moved, of the disposition of the god. If it felt light, he was considered propitious, but if the mass remained immovable, they were taught to expect the effects of his displeasure, and to avert his anger by the promise of some new offering.

The spots where these idols were fixed were called "passe vari," or holy mountains, many of which retain that name. Samuel Rheen enumerates thirty places of the kind in Lulea Lapmark, and considers them not the only ones in the district. They do not appear to have had any priests. The person who proposed making the sacrifice consulted the drum himself, and cried out, "Maiide Siel kak tun Stourra Passe siede?"—(What sayest thou, great and holy god, wilt thou accept the victim?) Reindeer were the principal offerings among the Laplanders; yet, in the district of Lulea, dogs and cats were sometimes added.

Divine honours were paid to the sun and to the spirits of the dead whom the Laplanders call Sites, but neither were represented under any image. The victims were distinguished by a white thread passed through the right ear when devoted to Baive, and a string of black wool was substituted when the manes were to be propitiated. In most cases, it appears, that



a part of the offered deer was devoured by the worshippers; sometimes it was buried; but little seems ever to have been given up to the idols beyond bones and horns, and occasionally a small portion of the lights.

Besides the Sites, they believed in aerial spirits, and paid them a sort of adoration. Scheffer supposed this part of their religion to have arisen from the divine host that announced the birth of our Saviour to the shepherds. At Christmas time they were supposed to be most numerous, and as the natives abstained from meat upon that occasion, the fragments of what had been eaten were reserved, and hung in a small vessel upon a tree, in the neighbourhood of their hut, for the subsistence of such spirits as rove about the mountains and forests.

The foregoing will give some idea of the barbarous religion of Lapland in former times. In some points, particularly as respects Ajeka, whom they appropriately called "Mora Jubmel," the wooden god, it is said to resemble that

of the idolatrous tribes in the northern part of Asiatic Russia, to whom they are evidently related in blood. We now come to their magic and sorcery. Saxo Grammaticus, in the eighth book of his Danish History, refers to Lapland under the latinized name of Bjarmia. This term would appear to designate Finmark, where the most northern Skritt Finner had their abode. It was a country terrible, not only by the natural rigour of the climate, but also rendered perilous to approach on account of the magicians who filled the land with unearthly sights, and whose charms were most powerful. He describes minutely the perils that one Thorkill and his companions went through in penetrating into this country of sorcerers. On every side frightful spectres and demons appeared ; inanimate objects became endowed with activity and attacked them ; the most determined resistance availed them but little against these supernatural agents, and the chief returned with scarce twenty of his crew. In a later part of the same

book, he speaks of their rebelling against the the hero of northern antiquity, Regner Lodbrog, who, after vanquishing the finest troops in Europe, found it less easy to keep the dwarfs of Lapland in subjection. "By their spells," he says, "they stopped the ships of the Danes while sailing with a fair wind, and annoyed them by alternately tormenting them with the extremes of heat and cold, and raising storms that no human skill could baffle."

Their sale of winds to mariners is generally known, and afforded some profit to those who lived along the coast of the Icy Sea. The charm that ensured the fair wind was contained in a rope with three knots. As soon as the first was untied, the purchaser might expect a slight breeze; on unravelling the second, the wind was to freshen; but if he ventured to undo the third, a gale would come on and increase into a hurricane of such violence that the ship would be inevitably lost. The power to grant a particular wind was supposed

to depend entirely on the nativity of the sorcerer. He had, it was said, absolute power over the wind that blew at the moment of his birth, and thus one was called the lord of the east wind, another of the west, and so on.

That which they principally depended upon in their magical mummeries was a drum, called amongst them "kannus," or "quobdas," a bunch of rings, called "arpa," and a hammer that served as a drumstick. One of these drums is still preserved in the Cabinet of Curiosities, in Copenhagen. The material used in their construction was the trunk of a pine or birch tree, which bent in such a way that every fibre leant from right to left, as its growth was supposed to have some mysterious connexion with the course of the sun.

The drum was made of one entire piece, the tree being cleft asunder, and hollowed out in the middle so as to resemble a bowl. The flat or upper part was covered with skin; the convex side had two holes cut in it, and the space

between served as a handle. The rim upon which the skin was stretched, was not exactly circular, but nearly an oval. They were, in fact, small oblong kettle-drums. On the drum-head were painted several figures in red, which represented their gods, our Saviour, the Apostles, and the animals they were acquainted with. The signs painted on the drums varied, probably according to the occasion on which they were used. In Sheffer's description of Lapland, he gives specimens of several; he mentions his owning four himself, and states from whom he got them.

One which is represented belonged to Samuel Rheen, and is remarkable for the mixture of our Saviour and the Apostles among their heathen idols; and what is more striking is, that while Ajeka and Storjunkare are placed on the upper line, which belonged to the superior gods, Christ and his disciples are left on the lower, which is reserved for the inferior deities.

Another kind of drum is described as used

probably only for divination and the recovery of lost things. The surface of the drum-head is divided off into three principal parts; the first is Norland, in Sweden, and is represented on that side which is turned to the south, and contains that town and the road to it in which the owner trades; the Laplanders of Tornea Lapmark had the town of Tornea marked in theirs. To the north, Norway with its inhabitants is represented. The middle and largest portion of the drum-head stands for Lapland, and in it are painted herds of deer, wolves, bears, and also kinds of animals.

The hammer with which this drum was struck was generally made of reindeer's horn, about the thickness of a man's little finger. The other instrument, without which the apparatus would have been incomplete, was the "Arpa." It was the mark that pointed out the answers to their inquiries.

It was a large copper or silver ring, with other

smaller ones attached to it in a variety of fashions. One of those represented is a thick plate, perforated in the middle, and surrounded with small chains. The other is a ring with a circular plate attached to it by little brass bands. In the use of the drum, the magician was not so solicitous about producing a great noise, as about the motion of the Arpa, and the position they took on the hieroglyphics painted on the skin.

No woman was allowed to touch a magic drum; if she should go along the path by which it had passed within three days, some heavy calamity was expected to fall on her. Most people had one for their particular use; but, upon occasions of importance, a sorcerer of known power was consulted. During the ceremony, the operator and all those present remained on their knees. The sorcerer took the drum by the handle, and laid the ring on the part where the sun was delineated. He then struck the drum with his hammer, and sung a

song called, in their language, "Jorke," the rest of the company joining in chorus. As the song proceeds, the violence of the singing and drumming increase. At last he raises it above his head, and drops down like one in a trance, and his soul is supposed to have abandoned his body, and conveyed itself to the country from which intelligence is required. Meanwhile, the whole party keep up a chorus, and watch, lest any thing should disturb him. Not a fly is allowed to approach him, lest he should die from the effects of being roused before the proper time. When he recovers his senses, he gives the required information. John Scheffer, who is rather credulous, gives an instance of lucky divination in a Laplander, which, he says, is well attested.

One John Delling, the servant of a German merchant, was waiting in Bergen for his master, who was in his native country. Some mountain Finns being in the town, he had the curiosity to consult them as to what his master was doing



at the time. They went through the usual farce of the drum, and their answer was written down at the time in the book of the merchants of Bergen. When the master came to Bergen, the account he gave of himself agreed with what the wizard had said.

The same course was adopted to discover the cause and result of their ailings. If the rings moved from left to right, it was looked upon as a propitious omen; but if they turned in a contrary direction, it portended misfortunes and distress.

What has been already said will give a faint idea of the ancient magic of the Laplanders. It is a subject which cannot be searched into very far back, as no books are to be found among the natives, and all the sources from which a knowledge of their rites can be derived, are of comparatively modern date. The ancient religion of the Finns was that of a people grossly ignorant, but it does not appear to have been cruel; it did not, like that of Odin, devote

human beings to the altar; and Stourra Passe, surrounded by his wife and children, was far more harmless than the Thor of the Goths.

It was not my fortune to meet in Lapland with any one who pretended to any power in sorcery; some, I have heard, are to be found who extort an occasional glass of brandy from their weaker neighbours, by a threat of bringing misfortunes on their herd, and that is probably the extent of the art in the present day. I cannot, however, dismiss the subject without adding what Regnard says concerning it. While at a clergyman's house, he induced one of the natives to bring him a noted sorcerer. The latter was not very willing to display his acquirements in the forbidden art so near a priest's house; but consented to astonish the strangers, if they should be bold enough to follow him. The Frenchmen consented, and, after going some distance into the forest, came to a miserable hut, in which he lived. He here showed them his drum and the rest of his magical ap-

paratus. Regnard wished to put his science to the test, and asked him some question concerning France. The other was nothing daunted, and prepared for the incantation.

Not satisfied with striking his drum, he beat his face and breast till he was covered with bruises, and his countenance was disfigured with perspiration and blood. By degrees he worked himself into a state bordering on phrensy, and rolled about like a maniac, unconscious of every thing. But it was all to no purpose; he found that he had got into the hands of people who were a match for him, and as he saw no other way of getting out of the scrape, he was fain to acknowledge that the devil, who was subservient to him, had never revealed to him any thing that happened beyond Stockholm. He added, that since he had advanced in years, and lost several of his teeth, he had found his power over the devil rapidly decreasing.

The same, he said, was the case with all sorcerers in Lapland, a good set of teeth being in-

dispensable for keeping the familiar spirit in proper subjection. The defeat must have been disagreeable enough. Regnard added to it by removing his drum while he was in a phrensy, and when he begged to have it returned, he was told that his art ought to come to his aid, and help him to discover the thief, and find where the stolen article was concealed.

CHAPTER XIV.

---

Gripsholm—Eric's dungeon—Westeras—A Lapland  
giantess—Gottenburg.

THE month of March passed away without any decrease of cold, and April set in with no prospect of returning spring. Still the streets were covered with snow, and the lakes passable for sledges. The power of the sun at midday increased greatly, and caused that dazzling glare which so often produces snow-blindness in the north. The colour of the houses in Stockholm,

which are universally stuccoed and painted white, adds to this inconvenience, and it is strange that the eyesight of the inhabitants of the capital is not more generally affected ; yet, I have rarely met with blindness in Sweden, and, altogether, the people seem troubled with few corporeal infirmities, and their climate, though severe, is bracing and healthy. They say that they have two summers—the green and the white ; the first is so short that there is no time to become weary of it, and the latter can always be rendered comfortable in a country where the forests afford abundance of fuel.

As I began to fear that if I waited till the opening of the navigation my stay might be protracted to the month of June, I determined on leaving Stockholm, and taking my chance of finding snow as far as Helsingborg. Before, however, leaving the north of Sweden, I took the opportunity of the fine weather to see the castle of Gripsholm, in Södremanland ; no palace in the country possesses such interest, it

having successively been a fortress, monastery, prison, and palace, according to the genius of the various ages since the time of its first erection. When I started from Stockholm, the snow was so deep as to render the fences invisible. Passing through the little town of Södre Telje, I struck off to the westward along the southern shore of lake Mœlare, a branch of which I crossed on the ice; I then took up my quarters at Mariefred, a little town close to the castle, on the border of the lake.

The palace is painted of a bright red colour, and at the present season, when rising out of a plain of dazzling white, the contrast is almost painful to the sight. The town is one of the least even in Sweden, built entirely of wood, and offering nothing worthy of notice but the church, which boasts of a tall spire. As the day was too far advanced to think of seeing the interior of the castle the same afternoon, I sallied out on a journey of discovery through the streets; but the only result of my perambulations was meeting a solitary pig or two, wan-

dering about in full exercise of that liberty which has been granted to them from time immemorial in all towns of the caliber of Mariefred.

The spot upon which the palace is situated was originally called Ahl, and derives its present name from Bo Jonson Grip, a powerful baron, who built his castle at the end of the fourteenth century, on what was at that time a small island, or holm. The channel that divided it from the mainland has since become choked; but the surrounding ground is very low and swampy, and the approach to the castle is by a raised causeway. After his death, Bo's widow was compelled to give it up to Margaret, the Semiramis of the North. It then served as a fortress, and was garrisoned with foreign troops; during the troubles that followed, the officer that commanded abandoned it at the approach of Engelbricht, a Dalecarlian chief, having first set it on fire.

Afterwards it passed through the hands of



a king, a bishop, and the elder Sture, administrator of Sweden, who bestowed it on a Carthusian convent in the neighbourhood. The accession, however, of Gustaf Wasa, and the reformation, tore it from the possession of its new owners, and the king obtained an edict by which the castle was declared royal property. At the time of its recovery, there remained no more of the original building than the eastern tower. Being judged an eligible spot for a stronghold, it was, by its new proprietor, thrown into its present form. Gustaf the Third has also added state apartments from his own plans, and made a very convenient staircase in the thickness of the wall, which is in many places eighteen feet through.

On entering through a porch flanked by towers, we passed through two irregular courts that displayed every variety of window. As no one but a warden lives in the castle in winter, it is considered to be more convenient to wait until the return of spring melts the accumulated

snow and discharges it into the lake, than to clear it away by manual labour. A narrow path, so deep as to screen the objects on either side from any one but a giant, has been scooped out with shovels, and forms the only means of communication from one part to the other. It were impossible to name even the principal portraits preserved in the palace. A collection, amounting to fifteen hundred, and including all the kings of Sweden, and most of those of foreign countries since Gustaf Wasa's time, have been placed here. Add to these the portraits of all the great men that the country has produced, and numberless others, whose temporary popularity gained them admission there, but did not prevail so far as to procure them frames for their pictures. One large apartment is filled with the portraits of those present at the signing the treaty of Westphalia, and another is devoted to some fifty councillors, in a costume not unlike that of our judges; but of the former, the Chancellor Axel Oxenstjerna is the only one of historical

note, and of the latter, all appear to have been so meritorious that it would be invidious to make a distinction.

Far more interest is excited on going into the chamber where John the Third passed four years in confinement, and the den which he afterwards had built for his brother's dungeon. Eric first incarcerated his brother on suspicion, which the sequel showed was not unfounded, of his plotting against him; but afterwards released him from his confinement. Eric's conduct proved him totally unfit to govern, even to be left at large, and the tragic scene that he enacted at Upsala ought at once to have removed him from the throne. In 1569 the Estates of the kingdom assembled in the Stora Kyrka of Stockholm, had him conducted from the vault in the palace into which he had shortly before been cast, and having solemnly deposed him, sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. In vain the unfortunate king urged that the acts which he was charged with were committed

during alienation of mind. His brother John thought proper to aggravate his disgrace by questioning him further on the subject. "I never was mad but once," answered Eric, "and that was when I released you from Gripsholm." During the two following years, he was moved about from prison to prison. Fearing his brother might still have friends, John sent him to Abo in Finland; but when there, he suspected that his own enemy, Ivan of Russia, might make an attempt in his favour, and he shifted him to the isle of Aland. Yet there he was still too near the Muscovite, and Eric was brought back to Stockholm; whence, after preparations had been made for his safe keeping, he was carried to the castle of Gripsholm.

The two rooms remain in the same state to this day that they were in while occupied by those prisoners, and they give a very different impression of the character of the two brothers. The elder appears merely to have aimed at preventing his troublesome brother from harming

him, and, beyond mere confinement, inflicted on him no pain. He even softened the loss of his liberty by allowing him the society of his wife. John, on the other hand, wished to torture his brother, and tried every thing in his power to shorten his days by misery. His own apartment is an octagon with three recesses with windows, and an alcove and bed in the largest. Two silk arm-chairs and a stool remain, and tradition says, that they comprised the whole of the furniture ; nor was it probably considered scanty in that age. On the side of the recess, opposite the alcove, is a hollow in the wall, which served for a cradle to three of his children, who were born in the room. The walls, panels, and vaulted ceiling, are richly gilt and painted ; little angels and flowers are profusely scattered about, and give the place the appearance rather of a lady's boudoir than a dungeon.

Far different is the cell of Eric ; on viewing the place of his punishment, the enormity of his

faults partially fades, and his brother's unnatural conduct, and not his own faults, presents itself. It is a circular room, about fifteen feet in diameter and nine high, in the smallest of the four towers. It is surrounded by a passage in which a sentry continually walked round and observed every act of the prisoner through grated openings that received a borrowed light. It was not unaptly called a cage by John, when he came to view it before the arrival of his brother, and ordered the guards to be careful that the bird did not escape. One of the windows allowed a partial view of the country through the outer one, with which it corresponds. The attention of the stranger is here called to the marks of the elbows of Eric, who generally passed his time on this spot. The outer windows were found to afford too good a view, and the lower part was walled up. A broken chair and bare brick walls without plaster were the only comforts he enjoyed there, and a triangular hole in the inner door served to

admit his meat and firing, and he was allowed but a scanty supply of either of these necessities; for, to aggravate his confinement, he was made to endure hunger and cold. He had no glass to his windows, and a window-shutter, so rudely constructed that it scarcely kept the snow out, was his only barrier against the elements. This not being found sufficiently painful, he was aroused every quarter of an hour, till habit so far prevailed that he answered in his sleep. Eric, as has been before remarked, was fond of music and painting: he was deprived of his guitar, his books, and even his bible, yet he contrived to employ his time in writing with a piece of charcoal from his fire, and some of his compositions are still extant. Among them are entreaties to his brother to be kinder to him, and hopes that the indignities heaped upon him are not by his orders. At other times he amused himself with syllogisms founded on the conduct of his brother, by which he proved logically that John was a traitor and

an enemy to his country. Unfortunately his logic could produce no results, and as his guards were selected from among his enemies, he was insulted with impunity. One of these, Olaf Stenbock, a relative of the nobles murdered at Upsala, abused his authority so far as to attempt stripping him on a cold winter's day. Eric, driven to desperation, resisted, and the wretch fired a gun at him through the hole in the door. The unfortunate man received the charge in his arm, which was shattered, and lay extended on the floor for several hours before assistance was brought him.

It has been said that the prisons of deposed princes are seldom far from their graves ; Eric's is an exception. Happy would he have been had he suffered as sudden a death as many of his victims. He would then have escaped not only the personal sufferings which his strong constitution carried him through for near nine years ; he would have gone down to the grave without being subjected to the exquisite mental



torture that his brother devised for him. During the first years of his imprisonment, he was allowed the consolation of occasional visits from his queen, Karin Mansdottir, who behaved to him in a manner which evinced devotion rarely to be met with. Wherever Eric was confined, there she followed him, and when he was afterwards kept at Westeras, she was accustomed to converse with him from the window of another floor without seeing him. One day she was ordered to depart, and never return to the prison. At the usual time, Eric came to his window, and began speaking to Karin; but no one answered him. He called again—yet still in vain. The only person that had been faithful to him had now disappeared. His mind became a prey to still deeper gloom. At one moment he suspected that she had abandoned him, at another he was driven frantic with the idea that some obstacle was put in the way of her return. Never was he informed of the truth, and in this state of

uncertainty he was left till the hour of his death.

That event was now approaching ; he seemed to become hardened by adversity ; every thing had been tried that could render life miserable, yet he still struggled against his misfortunes. Tired out by his brother's courage, and fearing that some unforeseen event might at length release him from his durance, John asked the consent of his council to put Eric altogether out of the way. It was probably not difficult for him to procure that consent from his creatures, and a messenger was sent to Oreby-hus, in Upland, where the unfortunate man was then confined, to give him poison. If he refused to take the draught, he was to be slain at once. This last precaution was unnecessary. What could he wish to live for longer, now that no bond remained between himself and this world ? His child was taken away ; his wife had disappeared. There was nothing to render his bondage any longer bearable—death could be his

only release, and it now presented itself. The fatal potion was administered in a basin of pease soup, and he expired in the ninth year of his imprisonment, and the forty-fifth of his age.

This is not the only spot in Gripsholm that has witnessed the humiliation of princes. The late ex-king of Sweden spent the interval between his abdication and departure from Sweden in the state apartments. As if in ridicule of fate, Gustaf III. built a theatre close to Eric's prison. At the time it might have appeared indecent, but the sequel showed that the one might be as fatal as the other. It will be easily believed that Gripsholm is not now the favoured abode of royalty; there are too many circumstances connected with it which remind kings of the uncertain tenure of power to make it enlivening.

One of the most curious rooms is a hall kept in the same state as it was during Gustaf Wasa's time. It is hung round with full lengths of all his cotemporaries, who were not a few, as he reigned thirty-seven years. Among them

Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, his intended daughter-in-law, are prominent. Gustaf III. has followed his example, and filled a splendid circular room with his cotemporaries. Portraits of Oxenstjerna are numerous throughout the palace; and in a gallery appropriated to the great men, I observed those of Linnè and Baron Swedenborg, the author of "New Jerusalem." There are no less than three hundred rooms in the castle, mostly of an irregular form, and the furniture scanty, except in the part occupied by Gustaf III.

For my return I had the choice of two roads, the direct one to Helsingborg; which passes along the Lake Wettern and Jonköping, and the western way to Gottenburg. The latter appeared the most eligible at this time of the year, as by keeping to the northward I could avail myself longer of sledging, and avoid the tedious travelling that one must expect when the snow begins to thaw. Wading through mud and water with the prospect of every minute being half-drowned by an upset, is all that

can be expected when the traveller has arrived at the point where wheels are to be resumed.

The tract of country that lies between Stockholm and Gottenburg is the best peopled, and altogether the most productive in the kingdom. The northern side of the lake Mœlare is studded with little towns, varying in population from two to four thousand inhabitants, no inconsiderable number in a country where the first city reckons seventy-five thousand, and the second only twenty-four thousand. These towns are tolerably thriving from the little trade they carry on with the inland provinces, transporting timber and the produce of the gorges to Stockholm.

A few miles from Stockholm the snow began again to fall, and, irksome as it was in itself, the consequences were still more disagreeable. For many miles the whole rural population had turned out, armed with wooden shovels, and were employed in cutting a passage through the hills that choked the road. In some places the track was confined between walls of snow

twelve and fourteen feet high. After every severe fall the peasantry of the neighbourhood are obliged, by law, to come out and remove the obstructions ; and several drivers complained greatly of the many days during the last two months that they had been taken from their own work to this drudgery, for which they received no remuneration. When the track requires merely a slight levelling, a snow-plough, formed of boards, in the shape of the letter A, and drawn by two, four, and, sometimes, eight oxen, is used.

Though the country still retained its wintry appearance, a new plague came on. The sun was so powerful in the middle of the day as to blister the face, and the dazzling whiteness of every thing around caused no slight aching to the eyes. The change from morning to mid-day, is from one extreme to the other. I have seen the mercury fall twenty degrees below zero (Celsius) at five o'clock and seven hours after the heat, in the sun, has been so great as to be painful.

Little as there is to remark in the towns of Westmanland, Westeras deserves to be noticed for the figure it played in the war that freed Sweden from the Danes. It is here, also, that Eric XIV. is buried. His tomb is as simple as befitted the tenant of many dungeons; the letters E. R. alone mark his rank, but, as if in mockery of his fallen state, the sceptre was enclosed in his coffin. I have heard from a Swede, that when the present king, a few years ago, visited this church, in his passage through Westeras, he ordered the tomb of Eric to be opened, and broke the sceptre that was lying among the dust and bones, saying that he was unworthy of ruling.

The fate of his son Gustaf, who survived him, was little more fortunate, though his memory is not, like his, sullied with crimes. When Eric was removed to Abo, in Finland, this child naturally became an object of trouble to the usurper John, who employed some of his friends to put him so effectually out of the way as to prevent his interfering with him.

He easily found persons willing to ingratiate themselves by any atrocity, and the boy was on the point of being carried away from Stockholm in a sack, when two noblemen rescued him, and to ensure him against further attempts of the kind, had him transported to Germany, where his uncle would be less able to plot against him. For many years he passed his time at the universities of Thorn and Wilna, where he made great proficiency in chemistry and languages, the latter a study in which all his family appear to have excelled. This part of his life seems to have been one of poverty; he is even said to have gained his bread by affording amusement of an evening to strangers in the low taverns of the University. It was probably his straitened circumstances that induced him to comply with the request of Sigismund, John's successor, that he should enter the church. This man, who was king both of Poland and Sweden, thought that when once in holy orders the young man would be as little in the way as if dead, and, therefore, made him



an Abbot. His new position, however, did not agree with his inclination, and, abandoning his order, he passed over to Russia, at that time governed by Boris Gudonof. The Czar offered him his daughter in marriage, and fortune, for once, seemed willing to smile on him ; but, as he steadily refused to join in any expedition against his native country, the match was broken off, and he returned to his humble position of refugee. He was afterwards imprisoned, and ended his chequered life at Kapkin, in 1606, where he was suspected of having been poisoned.

While standing in the yard of the inn at Arboga, where I stopped some days, I remarked several Lapland girls, who were also sojourning there. Though they had kept out of sight since my arrival, I had sufficient evidence of their being there, by hearing them sing hymns and songs, in chorus, through the greatest part of the day. Their style of singing, which is peculiar to themselves, is by no means disagreeable, and as they were all young, their voices were soft and melodious. The last piece

of my luggage was deposited in my sledge, and I prepared for my journey by creeping into my Lapland moudda, which I still wore on the road, as most convenient for moving in. At the sight of this article of their national dress the whole troop, consisting of seven or eight girls and two or three boys, rushed out to see if a countryman of theirs was in the yard. When they saw I was really clothed in reindeer-skins, many were the questions that were put to me—whether I had been in Lapland, and if I did not like it very much, and if I would not wish to return there. Long was the examination which every part of the costume underwent, and I thought I could not in any way so appropriately conclude the meeting as by producing a cruse of rum. One or two of the girls, at first, made some difficulties; but, after a little hesitation, they partook very freely of the liquor, and soon emptied the vessel that held two bottles. At this part of the ceremony, an additional person, who had probably witnessed the former proceeding, stepped in and joined the party. This

was no other than a girl of the same part of Lapland, but of the extraordinary height of seven feet. Though her face was by no means ugly, her first appearance was very repulsive. Her gigantic limbs were clothed in fur, and her gait was of that awkward description which is generally observable in overgrown people. Her sisters were of the usual stature in Lapland, and by their side she had something unearthly in her look. Her companions told me they expected to be next year in England, where they were to exhibit themselves ; so, drinking a draught to our next meeting, I bade the damsels farewell, and proceeded on my journey.

The remainder of my way to Gottenburg became particularly tedious from the thaw that had taken place to the westward. As I approached the river Gotha, I found the whole country inundated, and was at last obliged to abandon my sledge for a cart. I tried a two-wheeled one for some twenty miles, but finding it rather hazardous to depend entirely on the horse's footing, was glad to exchange it for

a waggon, in which I made my entry into Gothenburg, fully satiated with spring travelling. Gotheborg is very regularly built, and looks a prosperous place ; I doubt, however, its having entirely recovered from the effects of the cholera in 1834. In no place in the north did that dreadful disease commit such ravages, for whole families were cut off by it. The mortality, no doubt, must in a great measure be attributed to the stagnant canals that intersect the city in all quarters. The numerous bridges that form the communications between the opposite sides give a pretty effect to the town, yet none aspire to any style. Great numbers of British, chiefly Scotch merchants, are settled here and do the principal business. It is also one of the four towns in which Jews are allowed to remain and trade ; they being limited to Stockholm, Norrköpping, Gotheborg, and Carlskrona.

As a diligence runs weekly between this place and Helsingborg, I was glad to avail myself of it and release myself from the many annoyances attendant on travelling with "Skyuts," and

give myself up entirely to the care of a conductor. I cannot, however, deny that some of the most agreeable peregrinations I have made, have been in Sweden, and my wanderings have not been few. As the Arabs say, I am a son of the road, and few roads have afforded me more amusement than those almost interminable ones of Sweden, which seemed to have been measured by giants, and would require seven-leagued boots to move along in with proper rapidity.

At Helsingborg I found my host as willing as the last time I had seen him to procure me a carriage; as, however, I merely required a boat, I was handed over to the "Hall Karl," or ostler, and in three-quarters of an hour had crossed the Sound, and the same night found myself in Copenhagen.

THE END.











Seðlabanki Íslands Bókasafn



100358570 - 5



